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George Bancroft. 189

1. U.S. - History - Revolution
Biography [illegible]
2. Generals. - Biography.
3. Army (U.S.). - History: Biography
4 Washington.

A.M.

NOTICE.

THE publishers deem it a duty they owe to the public, to explain the cause of the nearly simultaneous issue of two works, corresponding very closely in name and appearance, but by different authors and from different houses. They cannot explain it more fairly than by giving the following extract from their letter to the Rev. J. T. Headley, written last September, requesting him to undertake the authorship of these volumes, viz.:

Philadelphia, Sept. 9, 1846.

"We have had in contemplation the publication of a work to be "entitled 'The Generals of the American Revolution,' to make one "or two 12mo volumes, and should like to know if you would be will-"ing to undertake the authorship of it. If you feel inclined to do so, "please let us know your terms."

Also an extract from his reply, viz.:

"*Stockbridge, Mass., September* 21, 1846.

"I have just rec'd your favour of the 9th inst. I scarcely know what "to say in reply, as I do not yet know what my engagements will be "for the winter; * * * * but before I can undertake it I shall "want to inquire respecting the materials for it, and whether they are "easily accessible. I am afraid the archives of the separate states will "have to be searched. There is another consideration: *whether it* "*would be better for me as an author* to write such a work. * * * * "I shall return to New York in a week or two, when I shall decide on "what I undertake."

From the above letter, it will be perceived, the Rev. J. T. Headley states that he could not then decide whether to undertake such a production, as he did not know that it would add to his reputation *as an author*, or that he could obtain the requisite materials without searching the *archives of the separate states*. Since the date of that letter, however, he has not written a line to the pub-

lishers; though they suggested the idea of the work to him, he has arranged with Messrs. Baker and Scribner, of New York, (who were perfectly aware of the circumstances of his correspondence on the subject with Carey and Hart,) for its publication.

The publishers have only to add, that as they were the originators of the work, their suggestions in regard to it should not have been used by the Rev. J. T. Headley, *for his own benefit*, or that of *any other house*, without first giving them notice and obtaining their consent. As well might a publisher make use of a MS. submitted for publication by an author, by appropriating that author's ideas in the preparation of a similar work, while he should be under the impression and expectation that the publisher was deciding upon the merits of his literary labours.

Philadelphia, 1847.

*** The whole correspondence, in reference to this work, between the Rev. J. T. Headley, Messrs. Baker & Scribner, and the publishers, can be seen at the store of Messrs. Carey & Hart, 126 Chesnut street, Philadelphia.

G. WASHINGTON.

G° Washington

Rufus Wilmot Griswold -

WASHINGTON

AND

THE GENERALS

OF THE

American Revolution.

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VOL. I.

PHILADELPHIA:
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1848.

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PREFACE.

THE American Revolution was one of the grandest events in history, and for its influence upon the condition of men, and the destinies of nations, it must long remain among the most interesting subjects of study. But readers have hitherto been without any work of authority through which they might be made acquainted with its actors.

Scattered biographies of many of the leading soldiers of the time have indeed appeared, but no one production that could serve as a companion to our military annals, properly introducing the *dramatis personæ*. In these volumes an attempt has been made to supply this want.

To produce them, the accessible published and unpublished memoirs, correspondence, and other materials relating to the period, have been carefully examined and faithfully reflected.

It is believed that while they will gratify a laudable curiosity, they will also, in most cases, deepen the reverence with which the people of this country regard the purchasers of their liberties.

PHILADELPHIA, 1847.

CONTENTS OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

PAGE

GEORGE WASHINGTON, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF..... 1

Popular recognition of Greatness—Washington's extraordinary Abilities—How estimated—Comparison of him with his most illustrious Contemporaries—His early Experience—Expedition to the Ohio—Appointed a Lieutenant-Colonel—Fort Necessity—Great Meadows—Braddock's Expedition—Commands the Virginia Troops—Married—Delegated to Congress—Elected Chief of the Army—Establishment of Discipline—Correspondence with Gage—Enthusiasm and Perseverance—British evacuate Boston—He visits Philadelphia—Concentrates his Forces in New York—Battle of Long Island—Embarkation at Brooklyn—Retreat through New Jersey—He is invested with dictatorial Power—Battle of Trenton; of Princeton; of Brandywine; of Germantown—Treaty with France—Battle of Monmouth; of Stoney Point—He visits Rochambeau—Treason of Arnold—Affairs in the South—Surrender of Cornwallis—Incidents at Newburgh—He takes leave of the Army—Elected President—Closing Events of his Life—His military Character.

MAJOR-GENERAL NATHANIEL GREENE..... 61

Parentage—Education—Elected to the Rhode Island Assembly—Commands the Troops of the Colony—On Long Island—In New York—The Retreat through New Jersey—Washington's Confidence in him—Conduct at Brandywine; at Germantown—Conway Cabal—His Conduct at Monmouth; in Rhode Island—Resigns the Quartermaster's Department—Affair at Elizabethtown—Presides at the Trial of André—Joins the Army in the South—Reception in Carolina—Anecdote—Passage of the Yadkin—Retreat to Virginia—Recrosses the Dan—Battle of Guilford Court-House; of Hobkirk's Hill—Siege of Fort Ninety-Six—Murder of Colonel Hayne—Battle of Eutaw—Close of the Campaign—Receives public Honours—Conspiracy in the Pennsylvania Line—Close of the War—He removes to Georgia—His Death and Character.

MAJOR-GENERAL ANTHONY WAYNE..... 105

Of Irish Descent—Interest in public Affairs—Raises a Regiment—Joins Sullivan in Canada—Appointed a Brigadier-General—Conduct in New Jersey—At Brandywine—Near Lancaster—Court of Inquiry—Battle of Germantown—He obtains Supplies—Battle of Monmouth—Washington commends him—Storming of Stoney Point—Thanks of Congress—

PAGE

Letter to Washington—Revolt of the Pennsylvania Line—His Conduct in the South—Defeats the Creeks—At the Close of the War, enters the Legislature—Commander-in-Chief against the Indians—His Success—Treaty of Greenville—Commissioner to treat with the Indians—Dies—His Monument

MAJOR-GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM..... 133

New England Manners a Hundred Years Ago—Putnam's early Occupation—Engages in the Seven Years' War—Events of 1755-'6—Bold Adventures—Bravery; Sagacity; Cheerfulness—He is appointed a Major—Rescues Captain Little—Captured by the Indians—Campaign of 1759—The Stamp-Act—Battle of Bunker Hill—Elected a Major-General—Battle of Long Island—Curious Stratagem—Affairs on the Hudson—Escape at Horseneck—His Death and Character

MAJOR-GENERAL HORATIO GATES..... 151

His early military Service—Stationed at Halifax—Accompanies Braddock—Wounded—Attack on Martinico—Peace of Paris—He settles in America—Personal Appearance—Joins the revolutionary Army—Commands in the North—Rejoins the Commander-in-Chief—Descent of Burgoyne—He resumes the Command of the northern Army—Battle of Saratoga—Aims at the supreme Authority—Ordered to the South—Defeat at Camden—End of his military Career—Elected to the New York Legislature—Death—His abilities and Services.

MAJOR-GENERAL WILLIAM EARL OF STIRLING.... 164

His Family and Education—Aid de Camp to General Shirley—Earldom of Stirling—His Claims to the Peerage—Returns from Great Britain to New Jersey—Employments—Private Life—Beginning of the Revolution—Joins the Continental Line—Thanks of Congress for his gallant Capture of a British Transport—Fortifies New York—Battle of Long Island—Taken Prisoner—Events in New Jersey—Battle of Brandywine—The Conway Cabal—His Death—His public and private Character.

MAJOR-GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER..... 183

Described by Mrs. Grant of Laggan—The Scene of his Life—Service under Lord Howe—In the Legislature—Resists British Aggression—Elected to Congress—Commands the northern Division—Thanks of Congress—Approach of Burgoyne—Affair of Fort Stanwix—Superseded by Gates—His civil Services—Close of his Life.

MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN..... 194

His Youth—He is admitted to the bar—Engaged in the first military Opposition to British Rule—Enters Congress—Brigadier-General—Commands in Canada—Succeeded by Gates—Taken Prisoner on Long Island—Expedition to Staten Island—Battle of Brandywine—Battle of Germantown—Valley Forge—Commands in Rhode-Island—Difficulties with the French—Retreat from Newport—Thanks of Congress—Expedition against the Iroquois—Political Services—Death.

PAGE

BRIGADIER-GENERAL HUGH MERCER..... 215

The British Empire a Hundred Years Ago—Hugh Mercer in the Camp of Charles Edward—Emigrates to America—Engages in the French War—Serves under John Armstrong—Becomes acquainted with Washington—Concord of the Colonies—Reflections on the Times—His first Campaign in the Revolution—Battle of Trenton—Battle of Princeton—Wounded—Dies.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN ARMSTRONG..... 234

Affair at Kittanning—Appointed Brigadier-General—Resignation—Commands Pennsylvania Militia at Brandywine and Germantown—In Congress—Death.

MAJOR-GENERAL HENRY KNOX..... 235

His Occupation before the Revolution—A Volunteer at the Battle of Bunker Hill—His Acquaintance with André—Commands the Artillery—In every Battle with Washington—His Confidence of Success—Praised by the Commander-in-Chief for his Conduct at Monmouth—Washington's Friendship for him—He founds the Society of Cincinnati—Appointed Secretary of War—His personal Appearance—Major-General under President Adams—His Death and Character.

MAJOR-GENERAL BENEDICT ARNOLD..... 243

Washington's Judgment of him—Analysis of his Character—His early Life—Reckless Adventures—Associations of Fort Ticonderoga—His Services on Lake Champlain—Expedition to Quebec—Bravery and Folly—Scenes at Quebec—Attack on the City—Enterprise, Indiscretion, Want of Honour—Conflict with the British Fleet—Affair at Danbury—Appointed Major-General—Understood by Congress—Conduct at Saratoga—Commands at Philadelphia—Secret mercantile Partnership—Interest in local Politics—The Mechianza—Reprimanded for Misconduct—Correspondence with André—Appointed to West Point—Meeting with André—The Treason—Ruffianism in Connecticut and Virginia—His Death—His Infamy.

MAJOR-GENERAL WILLIAM SMALLWOOD..... 274

Appointed a Brigadier-General—With Sullivan at Staten Island—In the Battle of Germantown—With Gates in the South—Absurd Pretensions in regard to Rank—Leaves the Army—In Congress—Death.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN P. DE HAAS..... 275

Little Knowledge possessed in regard to him.

MAJOR-GENERAL ARTHUR ST. CLAIR..... 276

His unhappy History—Early Life—With Wolfe at Quebec—Resides in Pennsylvania—Marches with a Regiment to Canada, in 1776—Appointed Major-General—Abandonment of Ticonderoga—Battle of Hubbardton—Court of Inquiry—Washington's Confidence in him—Elected to Congress—Governor of the north-western Territory—His Defeat by the Indians—Poverty—Death—Monument.

PAGE

BRIGADIER-GENERAL SAMUEL ELBERT..... 283
Expedition to Florida—Governor of Georgia—Death.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL WILLIAM IRVINE..... 284
Surgeon in the British Navy—Emigrates to America—a Member of the first Congress—Raises a Regiment—Captured at Trois Rivières—Appointed Brigadier-General—Commands Fort Pitt—The Whisky Insurrection—Close of his Life.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL GEORGE WEEDON..... 286
Account of him from Smyth's Travels—Retires from the Continental Service, and commands in the Virginia Militia.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL JAMES M. VARNUM..... 287
Studies Law—Enters the Army—Commands in New Jersey—Resigns his commission—A Member of the Old Congress—Judge of the Supreme Court of Ohio—Forensic Abilities.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL WILLIAM WOODFORD..... 289
Wounded at the Battle of Brandywine—Taken Prisoner at Charleston—Death.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL OTHO H. WILLIAMS..... 291
At Fort Washington—Camden—Made Adjutant-General—Brilliant Conduct at the Battle of Eutaw—Brigadier-General—End of his Life.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL STEPHEN MOYLAN..... 292
Aid-de-Camp to Washington—Commissary-General—Enters the Line of the Army—Commands a regiment of Dragoons—Appointed Brigadier-General.

MAJOR-GENERAL ALEXANDER McDOUGALL..... 293
Washington's Opinion of him—His Address to the People of New York—Imprisonment—Defiance of the Assembly—Presides at the Meeting in the Fields—Activity in Preparing for the War—Colonel—Brigadier-General—Promotion recommended by the Commander-in-Chief—Services in the Army—Sent to Congress—Letter to General Reed—Minister of Marine—Member of the New York Senate—Death.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN GLOVER..... 299
Marblehead Regiment at Cambridge—Glover's Services in organizing the Troops—Made a Brigadier-General—Correspondence with Washington—Joins Schuyler—Has charge of the surrendered Army of Burgoyne—In New Jersey—In Rhode Island—In Massachusetts—His Death.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL LACHLAN McINTOSH..... 301
Settlement of the McIntosh Family in Georgia—General Oglethorpe—John More McIntosh—Education of Lachlan McIntosh—Spends his Youth with Henry Laurens—Becomes a Surveyor—Brigadier-General of the Georgia Militia—Kills Button Gwinnett in a Duel—Joins the Continental Army—Sent to the Ohio—With Lincoln in Charleston—Marches to Savannah—Disagreement with the French Admiral—Slaughter at Savannah—Fall of Charleston—Last Days of McIntosh.

PAGE

BRIGADIER-GENERAL WILLIAM THOMPSON 305
Pennsylvania Regiment of Riflemen—Thompson serves as Captain in the French War—Joins the revolutionary Army at Cambridge—Affair at Lechmere Point—Appointed Brigadier-General—Joins the Northern Army—Attacks the Enemy at Three Rivers—Taken Prisoner—Exchanged.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN NIXON..... 306
At the Capture of Louisbourg—At the Defeat of Abercrombie—At Lexington and Bunker Hill—Made Brigadier-General—With Gates—At the Battle of Stillwater—Death.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL MORDECAI GIST..... 307
Trained to commercial Life—Personal Appearance—On Long Island—Made Colonel—Brigadier-General—Battle of Camden—Thanks of Congress—Commands the light Troops at Combahee—Death—His Sons.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL DAVID WOOSTER..... 309
Visits England—His Reception—Serves in the French War—In the Revolution—At Quebec—The Affair at Danbury—Mortally Wounded.

MAJOR-GENERAL JOSEPH SPENCER..... 311
In the French War—Among the first Brigadiers appointed by the Continental Congress—In Boston—Sent to Connecticut—commands in Rhode Island—Failure at Newport—His old Age.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL ENOCH POOR..... 313
Lafayette's Recollections—Poor's early Life—Appointed Colonel—Ordered to New York—Canada—Brigadier-General—Valley Forge—Accompanies Sullivan to the Six Nations—His Death—Announced by Washington to Congress.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL JAMES MOORE..... 316
First Tory Blood shed in North Carolina—"Highlanders" and "Regulators"—Colonel Moore's Expedition against them—Correspondence with General McDonald—Battle with him—Thanks of the Provincial Congress—His Death.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN PATTERSON..... 319
A Berkshire Preacher—John Patterson in the Massachusetts Congress—Leads a Regiment to Cambridge—Ordered to Canada—March to Trenton—Shay's Rebellion.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL JAMES REED..... 321
New Hampshire before the Revolution—Colonel Reed commands a Regiment at Charleston—Sent to Canada—Pestilence—Retreat—Reed appointed a Brigadier-General—Resigns on account of Illness.

19

PAGE

BRIGADIER-GENERAL SETH POMROY 323
In the French War—Kills the Baron Dieskau—At Bunker's Hill—Appointed Brigadier-General—Resigns—Commands the Militia.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL JETHRO SUMNER..... 163
Activity in preparing for the Revolution—Appointed a Colonel—Promoted.

WASHINGTON

AND THE

GENERALS OF THE REVOLUTION.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

It is a truth, illustrated in daily experience, and yet rarely noted or acted upon, that, in all that concerns the appreciation of personal character or ability, the instinctive impressions of a community are quicker in their action, more profoundly appreciant, and more reliable, than the intellectual perceptions of the ablest men in the community. Upon all those subjects that are of moral apprehension, society seems to possess an intelligence of its own, infinitely sensitive in its delicacy, and almost conclusive in the certainty of its determinations; indirect, and unconscious in its operation, yet unshunnable in sagacity, and as strong and confident as nature itself. The highest and finest qualities of human judgment seem to be in commission among the nation, or the race. It is by such a process, that whenever a true hero appears among mankind, the recognition of his character, by the general sense of

humanity, is instant and certain: the belief of the chief priests and rulers of mind, follows later, or comes not at all. The perceptions of a public are as subtly-sighted, as its passions are blind. It sees, and feels, and knows the excellence, which it can neither understand, nor explain, nor vindicate. These involuntary opinions of people at large explain themselves, and are vindicated by events, and form at last the constants of human understanding. A character of the first order of greatness, such as seems to pass out of the limits and course of ordinary life, often lies above the ken of intellectual judgment; but its merits and its infirmities never escape the sleepless perspicacity of the common sentiment, which no novelty of form can surprise, and no mixture of qualities can perplex. The mind—the logical faculty—comprehends a subject, when it can trace in it the same elements, or relations, which it is familiar with elsewhere: if it finds but a faint analogy of form or substance, its decision is embarrassed. But this other instinct seems to become subtler, and more rapid, and more absolute in conviction, at the line where reason begins to falter. Take the case of Shakspeare. His surpassing greatness was never acknowledged by the learned, until the nation had ascertained and settled it as a foregone and questionless conclusion. Even now, to the most sagacious mind of this time, the real ground and evidence of its own assurance of Shakspeare's supremacy, is the universal, deep, immovable conviction of it in the public feeling. There have been many acute essays upon his minor characteristics; but intellectual criticism has never grappled with Shaksperian ART, in its entireness and grandeur, and probably it never will. We know not now, wherein his greatness consists. We cannot demonstrate it. There is less indistinctness in the merit of less eminent authors. Those things which are not doubts to our consciousness, are yet mysteries to our mind. And if this is true of literary art, which is so much within the

sphere of reflection, it may be expected to find more striking illustration in great practical and public moral characters.

These considerations occur naturally to the mind in contemplating the fame of Washington. An attentive examination of the whole subject, and of all that can contribute to the formation of a sound opinion, results in the belief that General Washington's *mental* abilities illustrate the very highest type of greatness. His *mind*, probably, was one of the very greatest that was ever given to mortality. Yet it is impossible to establish that position by a direct analysis of his character, or conduct, or productions. When we look at the incidents or the results of that great career—when we contemplate the qualities by which it is marked, from its beginning to its end—the foresight which never was surprised, the judgment which nothing could deceive, the wisdom whose resources were incapable of exhaustion—combined with a spirit as resolute in its official duties as it was moderate in its private pretensions, as indomitable in its public temper as it was gentle in its personal tone—we are left in wonder and reverence. But when we would enter into the recesses of that mind—when we would discriminate upon its construction, and reason upon its operations—when we would tell how it was composed, and why it excelled—we are entirely at fault. The processes of Washington's understanding are entirely hidden from us. What came from it, in counsel or in action, was the life and glory of his country; what went on within it, is shrouded in impenetrable concealment. Such elevation in degree, of wisdom, amounts almost to a change of kind, in nature, and detaches his intelligence from the sympathy of ours. We cannot see him as he was, because we are not like him. The tones of the mighty bell were heard with the certainty of Time itself, and with a force that vibrates still upon the air of life, and will vibrate for ever. But the clock-work, by which they

were regulated and given forth, we can neither see nor understand. In fact, his intellectual abilities did not exist in an analytical and separated form; but in a combined and concrete state. They "moved altogether when they moved at all." They were in no degree speculative, but only practical. They could not act at all in the region of imagination, but only upon the field of reality. The sympathies of his intelligence dwelt exclusively in the national being and action. Its interests and energies were absorbed in them. He was nothing out of that sphere, because he was every thing there. The extent to which he was identified with the country is unexampled in the relations of individual men to the community. During the whole period of his life he was the thinking part of the nation. He was its mind; it was his image and illustration. If we would classify and measure him, it must be with nations, and not with individuals.

This extraordinary nature of Washington's capacities—this impossibility of analyzing and understanding the elements and methods of his wisdom—have led some persons to doubt whether, intellectually, he was of great superiority; but the public—the community—never doubted of the transcendant eminence of Washington's abilities. From the first moment of his appearance as the chief, the recognition of him, from one end of the country to the other, as THE MAN—the leader, the counsellor, the infallible in suggestion and in conduct—was immediate and universal. From that moment to the close of the scene, the national confidence in his capacity was as spontaneous, as enthusiastic, as immovable, as it was in his integrity. Particular persons, affected by the untoward course of events, sometimes questioned his sufficiency; but the nation never questioned it, nor would allow it to be questioned Neither misfortune, nor disappointment, nor accidents, nor delay, nor the protracted gloom of years, could avail to disturb the public trust in him. It was apart from cir-

cumstances; it was beside the action of caprice; it was beyond all visionary, and above all changeable feelings. It was founded on nothing extraneous; not upon what he had said or done, but upon what he was. They saw something in the man, which gave them assurance of a nature and destiny of the highest elevation—something inexplicable, but which inspired a complete satisfaction. We feel that this reliance was wise and right; but why it was felt, or why it was right, we are as much to seek as those who came under the direct impression of his personal presence. It is not surprising, that the world recognising in this man a nature and a greatness which philosophy cannot explain, should revere him almost to religion.

The distance and magnitude of those objects which are too far above us to be estimated directly—such as stars—are determined by their parallax. By some process of that kind we may form an approximate notion of Washington's greatness. We may measure him against the great events in which he moved; and against the great men, among whom, and above whom, his figure stood like a tower. It is agreed that the war of American Independence is one of the most exalted, and honourable, and difficult achievements related in history. Its force was contributed by many; but its grandeur was derived from Washington. His character and wisdom gave unity, and dignity, and effect to the irregular, and often divergent enthusiasm of others. His energy combined the parts; his intelligence guided the whole: his perseverance, and fortitude, and resolution, were the inspiration and support of all. In looking back over that period, his presence seems to fill the whole scene; his influence predominates throughout; his character is reflected from every thing. Perhaps nothing less than his immense weight of mind could have kept the national system, at home, in that position which it held, immovably, for seven years; perhaps

nothing but the august respectability which his demeanour threw around the American cause abroad, would have induced a foreign nation to enter into an equal alliance with us upon terms that contributed in a most important degree to our final success, or would have caused Great Britain to feel that no great indignity was suffered in admitting the claim to national existence of a people who had such a representative as Washington. What but the most eminent qualities of mind and feeling—discretion superhuman—readiness of invention, and dexterity of means, equal to the most desperate affairs—endurance, self-control, regulated ardour, restrained passion, caution mingled with boldness, and all the contrarieties of moral excellence—could have expanded the life of an individual into a career such as this?

If we compare him with the great men who were his contemporaries throughout the nation; in an age of extraordinary personages, Washington was unquestionably the first man of the time in ability. Review the correspondence of General Washington—that sublime monument of intelligence and integrity—scrutinize the public history and the public men of that era, and you will find that in all the wisdom that was accomplished or was attempted, Washington was before every man in his suggestions of the plan, and beyond every one in the extent to which he contributed to its adoption. In the field, all the able generals acknowledged his superiority, and looked up to him with loyalty, reliance, and reverence; the others, who doubted his ability, or conspired against his sovereignty, illustrated, in their own conduct, their incapacity to be either his judges or his rivals. In the state, Adams, Jay, Rutledge, Pinckney, Morris—these are great names; but there is not one whose wisdom does not vail to his. His superiority was felt by all these persons, and was felt by Washington himself, as a simple matter of fact, as little a subject of question, or a cause of vanity, as the eminence

of his personal stature. His appointment as commander-in-chief, was the result of no design on his part, and of no efforts on the part of his friends; it seemed to take place spontaneously. He moved into the position, because there was a vacuum which no other could supply: in it, he was not sustained by government, by a party, or by connexions; he sustained himself; and then he sustained every thing else. He sustained Congress against the army, and the army against the injustice of Congress. The brightest mind among his contemporaries was Hamilton's; a character which cannot be contemplated without frequent admiration, and constant affection. His talents took the form of genius, which Washington's did not. But active, various, and brilliant, as the faculties of Hamilton were, whether viewed in the precocity of youth, or in the all-accomplished elegance of maturer life—lightning-quick as his intelligence was to see through every subject that came before it, and vigorous as it was in constructing the argumentation by which other minds were to be led, as upon a shapely bridge, over the obscure depths across which his had flashed in a moment—fertile and sound in schemes, ready in action, splendid in display, as he was—nothing is more obvious and certain than that when Mr. Hamilton approached Washington, he came into the presence of one who surpassed him in the extent, in the comprehension, the elevation, the sagacity, the force, and the ponderousness of his mind, as much as he did in the majesty of his aspect, and the grandeur of his step. The genius of Hamilton was a flower, which gratifies, surprises, and enchants; the intelligence of Washington was a stately tree, which in the rarity and true dignity of its beauty is as superior, as it is in its dimensions.

George Washington, third son of Augustine Washington, and the eldest of five children by a second marriage, was born on the 22d of February, 1732, near the Potomac, in Westmoreland county, Virginia. His great grandfather

had emigrated about the year 1657, from the north of England, where his family had long been eminent, and in some of its branches was allied to nobility. The sentiment of social respectability—the consciousness of having been born a gentleman, was an important element in General Washington's character, and contributed to determine the kind of reputation which he obtained from the country. In 1743, his eldest half-brother married the daughter of the Hon. George William Fairfax, and in consequence of this connexion, Mr. Washington was appointed surveyor in the western part of Virginia, by Lord Fairfax, then proprietor of the northern neck. At the Natural Bridge, in Rockbridge county, carved at a great elevation, the initials of the young surveyor's name, renewed, of course, in later years, are still shown to the traveller. For a long time it was the highest inscription at the place; but lately, some one has had the indifferent taste to register his insignificance over the name of the Father of his country. There is another tablet on which the world will readily give him leave to write his name above that of Washington, if he thinks fit. About the middle of the century, the attention of Lieutenant-Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, was attracted to the encroachments of the French, in the north, who appeared to be engaged in connecting their possessions in Canada with those in Louisiana, by a line of forts extending down the Alleghany and Ohio rivers; and he determined to send a messenger to require, in the name of the English monarch, that these posts should be discontinued. The mission was intrusted to Mr. Washington, then at the age of twenty-one; and in the beginning of November, 1753, he set out from Williamsburg, on his toilsome and perilous tour. Encountering many obstacles from the snow, he crossed the Alleghany mountains, visited the forks of the Ohio, now Pittsburgh, passed what is now the town of Franklin, at the confluence of the Alleghany river and French creek, ascended the latter

stream, passing Meadville, as far apparently as the small lake, Le Boeuf. It was at a fort at this point, near probably to the present town of Waterford, in Erie county, that Washington had his interview with the French officer in command on the Ohio, and delivered the letter of Governor Dinwiddie. A letter was written in answer, and the youthful ambassador set off on his return, on the 15th of December, to traverse that wintry and inhospitable region. An adventure on the Alleghany river, about two miles above Pittsburgh, on the 28th of December, is thus described in a journal kept by Washington for the information of Governor Dinwiddie, and afterwards published. "We expected to have found the river frozen, but it was not, only about fifty yards from each shore. The ice, I suppose, had broken up above, for it was driving in vast quantities. There was no way of getting over but on a raft, which we set about, with but one poor hatchet, and finished just after sun-setting. This was a whole day's work; we next got it launched, then went on board of it, and set off; but before we were half way over, we were jammed in the ice in such a manner, that we expected every moment our raft to sink and ourselves to perish. I put out my setting pole to try to stop the raft, that the ice might pass by, when the rapidity of the stream threw it with such violence against the pole, that it jerked me out, into ten feet water; but I fortunately saved myself by catching hold of one of the raft logs. Notwithstanding all our efforts, we could not get to either shore, but were obliged, as we were near an island, to quit our raft and make to it. The cold was so extremely severe, that Mr. Gist had all his fingers and some of his toes frozen." His conduct on this mission, made known by the publication of his journal, attracted much admiration and respect.

In 1754, Washington was appointed lieutenant-colonel of a regiment of three hundred men, under the command of Colonel Fry, which was raised by the Assembly of Vir-

ginia, for the purpose of resisting the aggressions of the French. By the death of Colonel Fry, soon afterwards, the command devolved upon him; and in July of that year he distinguished himself by a brave defence of Fort Necessity, at the Great Meadows, in the Alleghany mountains, against a very superior French force, under the command of M. De Villier. The fort capitulated, after a loss of fifty-eight of the Virginia regiment, killed and wounded; but the gallantry of Washington and his comrades received the special thanks of the legislature of Virginia, and the applause of the country generally. Towards the close of the year, Colonel Washington, disgusted with the arrangements by which officers in the royal service were authorized to take rank above provincial officers, quitted the service, and fixed his residence at Mount Vernon, which he had recently inherited under the will of his brother.

On the 14th of April, 1755, a council was held at the camp at Alexandria, by General Edward Braddock, commander-in-chief of the royal forces in America, the Hon. Augustus Keppel, commander-in-chief of the fleet, Governor Dinwiddie, and others, at which an enterprise against the French forts of Niagara and Crown Point, and the reinforcement of Fort Oswego, were determined upon. In execution of the plan arranged at this council, General Braddock moved from Alexandria at the head of a detachment, consisting of two English regiments—the 44th and 48th—and some companies of New York and Virginia provincial troops. Desirous of availing himself of the local knowledge as well as military service of Colonel Washington, he offered him the post of aid-de-camp, which was readily accepted. The expedition left Fort Cumberland, on Willes's Creek, in Maryland, on the 12th of June, 1755. On reaching the Great Meadows, it was, upon the advice of Washington, determined to push forward twelve hundred troops, with the light artillery, under the personal command of Braddock, with the greatest ra-

pidity, to Fort Du Quesne—then just erected—to take advantage of its supposed feebleness before reinforcements and supplies could reach it; leaving the heavy artillery and baggage with the rear division of the army at Great Meadows, under Colonel Dunbar, with orders to join the advanced corps as soon as possible. The progress of this select corps was, however, so slow, that it did not reach the banks of the Monongahela till about the 8th of July. Colonel Washington, who had been left on the 23d of June at the great ford of the Youghiogany, ill with a violent fever, rejoined the army on that day in a covered wagon, and entered on the services of his post. There being some steep and rugged ground on the north side of the Monongahela, the troops, early on the 9th, crossed to the southern side, about twenty-five miles from Fort Du Quesne, and marched along that bank for about fifteen miles, when they recrossed and advanced towards the fort. They had just entered upon a level plain, about nine miles from Fort Du Quesne, now called in that neighbourhood Braddock's Field, when they fell into an ambush of Indians and French, which resulted in their destruction.

Of this panic and rout, so well known as Braddock's defeat, in which a company of the finest troops, who, as Colonel Washington observed, a few moments before thought themselves equal to the force of Canada, were scattered and destroyed by a handful of French and savages, who merely intended to molest and annoy their march, one of the best accounts is contained in a letter written to Governor Morris by Robert Orme, one of the general's aids-de-camp, and dated at Fort Cumberland, July 18th, 1755. A part of this letter only has ever before been published; and as the narrative is clear and succinct, a part not hitherto in print is here extracted:

"The 9th instant," says the writer, who was with the main body, under Braddock, "we passed and repassed the Monongahela, by advancing first a party of three hun-

dred men, which was immediately followed by one of two hundred. The general, with the column of artillery, baggage, and the main body of the army, passed the river the last time about one o'clock. As soon as the whole had got on the fort side of the Monongahela, we heard a very heavy and quick fire in our front. We immediately advanced, in order to sustain them; but the detachments of the two and three hundred men gave way, and fell back upon us, which caused such confusion, and struck so great a panic among our men, that afterwards no military expedient could be made use of that had any effect upon them. The men were so extremely deaf to the exhortation of the general and the officers, that they fired away, in the most irregular manner, but without any effect upon the enemy, and fled, leaving all their ammunition, provisions, and baggage; nor could they be persuaded to stop, till they got as far as Gist's plantation; nor there only in part, many of them proceeding as far as Colonel Dunbar's party, who lay six miles on this side. The officers were absolutely sacrificed by their unparalleled good behaviour; advancing sometimes in bodies, and sometimes separately; hoping by such examples to engage the soldiers to follow them; but to no purpose. The general had five horses killed under him, and at last received a wound through his right arm into his lungs, of which he died on the 13th instant. Poor Shirley* was shot through the head; Captain Morris† was wounded. Mr. Washington had two horses shot under him, and his clothes shot through in several places, behaving the whole time with the greatest courage and resolution. Sir Peter Halket‡ was killed upon the spot. Colonel Burton§ and Sir John St. Clair‖ wounded."

The writer encloses a list of about six hundred men

* The Hon. Wm. Shirley, Esq., Secretary.
† Roger Morris, Esq., Aid-de-camp.
‡ Colonel of the Forty-fourth.
§ Lieutenant-Colonel of the Forty-eighth.
‖ Deputy Quartermaster-General.

killed and wounded, as far as could then be ascertained. Colonel Dunbar returned to Fort Cumberland with the remains of the army, the whole artillery, ammunition, and stores having been left or destroyed; and not long afterwards marched to Philadelphia.

The conduct of Colonel Washington elevated him to the highest place in the esteem and respect of the community. The command of the Virginia troops was given to him by the legislature of the colony, with flattering marks of the public trust and admiration. Until the close of the year 1758 he continued to be actively engaged in opposition to the French, and in repelling the annual inroads of the Indians on the frontier. These occupations were of unappreciable value in the formation of his military character, and in the establishment of a reputation throughout the colonies, which caused him to be looked to with universal confidence at the outbreak of the war of independence. But the minute detail of these irregular operations would be of little interest to the reader. In the winter of 1758 he retired from the army, and soon after was married to Mrs. Martha Custis, a lady of fortune, and amiable character, daughter of Mr. John Danbridge, and widow of Mr. John Parke Custis. In the following spring he retired to Mount Vernon, and in the honourable and manly pursuits of a Virginia planter, or country gentleman, he continued until, in 1774, at the age of forty-two, he was appointed by the convention of Virginia one of seven delegates to represent that colony in the Congress, at Philadelphia. This Congress assembled in Philadelphia, of that year, and Washington at once took that rank among its members which every circumstance of his life sustained. "If you speak of eloquence," said Patrick Henry, one of the Virginia delegates, when asked, on his return home, whom he thought the greatest man in Congress; "Mr. Rutledge, of South Carolina, is by far the greatest orator; but if you speak of solid information and sound judgment, Colonel

Washington is unquestionably the greatest man on that floor."

The second continental Congress assembled in Philadelphia, on the 10th of May, 1775; and to this also Washington was a delegate. It is not intended here to follow the history of the rise and progress of the Revolution; nor to give a complete view of the war of the Revolution. It is designed merely to trace the personal connexion of Washington with the military events of the period. The acquaintance of the reader with the general outline of events is therefore taken for granted. The battles of Lexington and Concord had been fought, in April, 1775, and every where it was felt that the war had begun. Congress proceeded at once to take into consideration the subject of organizing a general military defence throughout the colonies. It is owing to the patriotism and liberal views and feelings of Massachusetts, and especially of John Adams and Artemus Ward, that this difficult task was accomplished. At this time a considerable body of New England troops, under the command of General Ward, who acted by the appointment of Massachusetts, was occupied in the siege of Boston; and, early in June, Mr. Adams moved that this force should be adopted by Congress, as the continental army; and added, that it was his intention to propose, for commander-in-chief, a certain gentleman from Virginia, who was then a member of that body. A few days after, Washington was nominated by Mr. Thomas Johnson, of Maryland; and the vote being taken by ballot, he was found to be unanimously elected. With a dignity that nothing ever surprised or embarrassed, Washington at once placed himself upon the very highest moral ground with regard to this appointment, and assumed an impregnable position before the country, in which neither failure on his own part, nor cabals on the part of others, could disturb or impair his firmness, independence, and honour. On the following morning, when

the decision of the House was communicated to him, he rose in his place, and, in acknowledging and accepting the duty, said:—"But lest some unlucky event should happen, unfavourable to my reputation, I beg it may be remembered by every gentleman in the room, that I this day declare, with the utmost sincerity, I do not think myself equal to the command I am honoured with." At the same time he declined all pecuniary compensation, which, before the appointment, had been fixed at five hundred dollars a month; but stated that he would keep an exact account of his expenses, which Congress, no doubt, would discharge. Two days after, in a letter to his wife, he gave utterance to a sentiment which was shared very generally throughout the nation: "As it has been a kind of destiny that has thrown me upon this service," said he, "I shall hope that my undertaking it is designed to answer some good purpose." The appointment of General Washington was made on the 15th of June, 1775, two days before the battle of Bunker Hill was fought. On the 19th, his commission and instructions as "general and commander-in-chief of the army of the United Colonies, and of all the forces raised or to be raised by them, and of all others who shall voluntarily offer their service and join the said army, for the defence of American liberty,' were made out, and delivered to him; and on the 21st, attended by Lee, Schuyler, and other distinguished persons, he set out for the camp at Cambridge, tarrying a few days at New York. His progress was like the triumphant passage of a deliverer, or a "tutelary god;" every where marks of public confidence and private respect were lavished upon him. He reached the camp on the 3d of July, and immediately visited the several posts occupied by the American troops. The British army, under General Gage, the royal governor of Massachusetts, and commander of the forces in America, amounted in all to about eleven thousand. The bulk of it, under General Howe, lay on

Bunker's Hill, advanced about half a mile from the place of the recent action, where they were strongly entrenching; the light-horse, and a few infantry, were in Boston, with a battery on Copp's Hill; the remainder were on Roxbury Neck, where they were also deeply entrenched and strongly fortified. On the other hand, the American forces were extended around Boston, at the distance of from one to two miles, in a pretty complete line of investment, above twelve miles in circuit, from Mystic or Medford river, on their left, to Dorchester on the right. Winter Hill and Ploughed Hill, near the Mystic, on the extreme left, were occupied by the New Hampshire line, and part of the Rhode Island troops; Prospect Hill, in the immediate vicinity, was held by General Putnam, and the Connecticut troops; at Cambridge, in the centre, a part of the Massachusetts regiments were stationed; and the residue of the Rhode Island troops were at Sewell's farm, between Cambridge and Boston, at the mouth of the Charles river. At Roxbury, General Thomas, with two regiments of Connecticut and nine of Massachusetts, had thrown up a strong work, which, with the irregularity of the ground, rendered that position a safe one. The whole American force was nominally about seventeen thousand; but the effective force present was not much above fourteen thousand. At the first council of war, which was held at headquarters, on the 9th of July, it was resolved unanimously to hold and defend these works as long as possible; but it was also agreed that two and twenty thousand men at least were necessary for this service.

The first embarrassment which the commander-in-chief had to encounter on assuming the command, was in carrying out the arrangements of Congress for transferring the existing military forces to a uniform, continental system, and organizing the whole upon one comprehensive establishment. About the 18th of June, Congress, in providing for the national army, which it used every effort to

constitute, had appointed four major-generals—Artemus Ward of Massachusetts, at that time commander of all the forces raised by that colony; Charles Lee, a colonel in the British army, on half pay, who formally resigned that commission as soon as he was appointed, and before he was commissioned by Congress; Philip Schuyler of New York; and Israel Putnam of Connecticut; and on the 22d of June eight brigadier-generals were elected—Seth Pomroy of Massachusetts, Richard Montgomery of New York, David Wooster of Connecticut, John Thomas of Massachusetts, John Sullivan of New Hampshire, and Nathaniel Greene of Rhode Island; and the commissions of these officers were brought to the camp by General Washington. In these appointments Congress came in conflict, in some cases, with existing rank, derived from the separate colonies; and in others, with the opinions entertained by some of the gentlemen themselves, in respect to their relative pretensions. Disgusts were occasioned; threats of resignation made; and difficulties created which required all the influence and persuasion of the commander-in-chief to control. The system was at last completed; and the army distributed in the following manner: Six brigades of six regiments each were formed, and the whole thrown into three divisions, each consisting of two brigades. That forming the left wing was stationed at Winter and Prospect Hills, under Major-General Lee, with whom were Brigadiers Greene and Sullivan; the right wing was at Roxbury, under Major-General Ward; the centre was under General Putnam, at Cambridge, and the commander-in-chief had his headquarters at the same place.

The next concern was the establishment of discipline, and the extension and completion of the works. Military subordination and authority were almost unknown. In many instances, the officers of the regiments had been elected by the men, and were not superior to them in social standing. The greater part of the troops were farmers and

mechanics, who had rushed into the field, in the sudden enthusiasm created by the outrages at Lexington and Concord, and the contest at Bunker Hill. These acknowledged no duty but that which inclination suggested. "On entering the camp near Boston," says Colonel Wilkinson, arriving recently from Maryland, "I was struck with the familiarity which prevailed among the soldiers and officers of all ranks; from the colonel to the private I observed but little distinction; and I could not help remarking, to the young gentlemen with whom I made acquaintance, that the military discipline of these troops was not so great as the civil subordination of the community in which I lived." General Washington grappled these evils with a strong hand. The strictest government was enforced, and the distinction between officers and soldiers established and preserved by rigorous military penalties. At the same time, the works were carried on by the efforts of the whole army, with the utmost rapidity. But every thing was wanting; engineers, tools, materials. Early in August, the astounding fact was discovered, that the actual quantity of powder in the camp did not amount to more than half a pound to each man. Owing to a mistake, by which the committee of supplies had returned the whole amount furnished by the province, instead of the existing quantity, the deficiency was not discovered sooner. "When this fact was made known to Washington," says General Sullivan, in a letter written August 5th, 1775, "he was so struck, that he did not utter a word for half an hour." What added to the consternation was, that owing to the rapacity with which stores of every kind were appropriated and retained by every village and settlement throughout the country, there did not exist the least probability that this vital want would be in any degree relieved. For a long time the safety of the army, without bayonets or powder, depended upon the enemy's ignorance of their destitution.

About the middle of August, General Washington ad-

dressed to Lieutenant-General Gage a communication remonstrating against the treatment imposed upon prisoners in the hands of the British, who were represented as having been "thrown indiscriminately into a common jail, appropriated for felons." This remonstrance was based upon the ground that the treatment of prisoners taken in open war, does not properly depend upon political considerations, but upon obligations arising from the rights of humanity and the claims of rank, which were declared to be universally binding and extensive, except in case of retaliation. General Gage, in reply, denied the cruelty of treatment, but admitted that military rank was disregarded in the disposition of prisoners, as he acknowledged no rank not derived from the king. He declared that by the law of the land, the lives of the prisoners were destined to the cord; and added some advice as to the political duty and personal behaviour of the American general, which showed that none of the arrogance of British assumption had yet been abated. General Washington replied in a tone of dignified and lofty rebuke, and closed the correspondence, with the remark, that if the British officers, prisoners of the Americans, received a treatment different from that which it had been wished to show them, they and their general would remember the cause of it. About the same time orders of retaliation were issued by General Washington; but his far-sighted wisdom and virtue soon controlled this natural feeling. The orders were in a few days revoked; and the prisoners directed to be treated with "every indulgence and civility." It was eminently honourable to the intelligence and good feeling of Washington, that he was never at any time induced to adopt the system of retaliatory treatment of prisoners. When Congress at a later period, in the case of General Lee, were disposed to such a measure, his earnest and unanswerable expostulation was interposed.

The most imminent danger, however, to the American cause, lay in the approaching departure of the troops, at the expiration of their brief period of enlistment. In view of the danger, and of the importance of reviving the spirits of the country, and justifying the confidence that had been placed in him, General Washington was very strongly inclined to attempt an assault upon the city. On the 8th of September, he submitted his opinion, and a plan, to a council of war; but it was unanimously deemed inexpedient. On the 18th of the following month, he renewed his suggestion to another council, and it was again overruled. When the difficulties arising from the disorganization of the army a few months later had fully displayed themselves, General Washington seems to have regretted that he did not, at an early period, act upon his own independent judgment. His opinion of the feasibility of the plan, continued to be unchanged. "Could I have foreseen the difficulties which have come upon us," said he in a letter to Colonel Reed, dated January 14, 1776, "could I have known that such a backwardness would have been discovered in the old soldiers of the service, all the generals upon earth should not have convinced me of the propriety of delaying an attack upon Boston till this time. When it can now be attempted, I will not undertake to say; but this much I will answer for, that no opportunity can present itself earlier than my wishes." In reply to an inquiry in regard to the bombardment of the city, addressed by General Washington to a committee of Congress in camp, and by them referred to Congress, it was resolved by that body, on December 22d, that if the general and his officers should be of opinion that a successful attack could be made upon Boston, he might do it in any manner he thought fit, notwithstanding the town and property in it might be destroyed; and John Hancock, in communicating this resolution to Washington, added,

"may God crown your attempt with success. I most heartily wish it, though by it I may be the greatest sufferer."

None of the troops before Boston were engaged to serve beyond the end of December, 1775, and the Connecticut and Rhode Island troops only until the first of that month. To aid in the establishment of a new army, a committee of three, at the urgent request of Washington, had been appointed by Congress on the 29th of September, to confer with the commander-in-chief at camp, and the authorities of the New England states. The committee consisted of Franklin, Lynch and Harrison; and they arrived at headquarters on the 18th of October. The plan being digested, the greater difficulty remained of inducing the soldiers to consent to re-enlistment. The ardour of excitement had declined, or the interest of novelty worn off, or the fatigues and privations of the field in winter were too severely felt; and the utmost disinclination to continue was exhibited by the soldiers. To counteract this, little existed but the exhortations, the advice, the remonstrances, of the commander-in-chief. He gave himself to the task with devoted enthusiasm and perseverance; and at no period does Washington appear so great; at no period did he sustain such a weight of diversified public cares and labours, as at this era. At one time, when the old enlistments had expired, and before the new ones had come fully into action, the American force was reduced to nine thousand and six hundred men. It was a period of intense responsibility, anxiety, and toil to Washington; yet his security in relation to the enemy required that his condition should be concealed; but the country murmured at his inaction. "The reflection on my situation and that of this army," he writes, on the 14th of January, 1776, "produces many an unhappy hour when all around me are wrapped in sleep. Few people know the predicament we are in, on a thousand accounts; fewer still will believe, if

any disaster happens to these lines, from what cause it flows. I have often thought how much happier I should have been, if, instead of accepting the command under such circumstances, I had taken my musket on my shoulder, and entered the ranks; or, if I could have justified the measure to posterity and my own conscience, had retired to the back country and lived in a wigwam." A little earlier, he wrote, "It is easier to conceive than to describe the situation of my mind for some time past, and my feelings under our present circumstances. Search the vast volumes of history through, and I much question whether a case similar to ours can be found; to wit, to maintain a post against the flower of the British troops for six months together, without ———* and at the end of them to have our army disbanded, and another to raise, within the same distance of a reinforced enemy."† Either from mistake, or from another cause, the enlistments in the new army, instead of being made for the war, were for one year, unless sooner dismissed by Congress. The consequences of this error were well nigh fatal, when, in December of the following year, Washington was flying before Cornwallis, in New Jersey, and the army was on the eve of political dissolution, while its military existence hung by a thread. The active and enterprising mind of the commander-in-chief, however, had not been engrossed by his own present concerns, or his schemes limited to a single position. The expedition against Quebec, designed to take advantage of the diversion produced by the movements of General Schuyler by the order of Congress against Montreal and St. Johns, was planned in the autumn of 1775, by the commander-in-chief; and is one of the finest movements of

* Left blank in the original, for fear of the miscarriage of the letter. The word, no doubt, intended to be supplied, was *powder* or *ammunition*.

† This is from the original, recently published in the life of General Reed, vol. i. p. 141. It differs from the version given in Marshall's Life of Washington, vol. i. p. 39, and in Sparks's Washington, vol. iii. p. 225, which was from the letter books.

his military genius. The heroic march of Arnold, the commander of the expedition, to Quebec; the junction with him at that place, effected by Montgomery, after having captured Montreal; the night attack upon Quebec, and its failure, will be related in other parts of this work. The object of the expedition was not realized, but the evidence afforded by it of the genius, and sagacity, and daring of Washington, remains unimpaired by the result. In addition, also, to other labours, Washington gave much attention to the formation of a marine, which proved to be of the utmost service.

On the 1st of October, 1775, General Gage was recalled, and General Howe succeeded him as commander-in-chief. About the middle of December, it became known that an expedition was preparing in the British fleet, at Boston, but for what service it was designed was not ascertained. Intelligence was immediately despatched by the commander-in-chief to the authorities at Rhode Island and New York, which seemed likely to be points intended to be attacked. Soon after, General Lee, at the request of Governor Cooke, of Rhode Island, was despatched to Newport, with his guard and a party of riflemen, to take measures for counteracting the disaffection of that place. He returned after a few days, and, on the 11th of January, 1776, was again despatched, with orders to raise volunteers along his route, and provide for the defence of New York, the danger and the value of which were keenly felt by the commander-in-chief. It turned out, however, that the naval expedition was not intended for New York, but for North Carolina, whither it sailed, with several regiments, under the command of General Clinton.

The anxiety of General Washington to strike a decisive blow against Boston continued unabated. On the 16th of January, he again urged the necessity of such an attempt, and the probability of its success, upon a council

of war, who were of opinion that the time for this step had not yet arrived. In the following month, the prospects of the American army had somewhat improved. A considerable body of militia from Massachusetts had assembled, and troops raised by Congress from Pennsylvania and Maryland had arrived, increasing the whole regular force to above fourteen thousand men. A supply of powder also had been received. Towards the close of February, appearances indicated an intention on the part of General Howe to evacuate Boston. Washington renewed his effort to induce a council of officers to sanction his design of an assault; but, to his great mortification and disappointment, it was again declined. It was determined, however, that more decisive operations should at once be undertaken. Accordingly, for the purpose of compelling either a decisive action or the abandonment of the town, possession was taken of Dorchester Heights, by two thousand men, under General Thomas, on the night of March 4th, 1776; a violent cannonade and bombardment having been kept up the two previous nights from Cobble Hill and Roxbury, to divert the enemy's attention from the real object, and to harass them. Before morning, the men had with great industry thrown up such works on Dorchester Heights, that they were protected from the fire of the town. Ground was broken soon after on Nook's Hill, a northern spur of the Heights. The greater part of Boston, and the harbour, being thus commanded by the American position, it was obvious that this force must be dislodged, or the town abandoned. A detachment of three thousand men, under the command of Lord Percy, was despatched, on the afternoon of the 5th, for the purpose of carrying the Heights; but, owing to the state of the tide, not more than one thousand were able to embark, in six transports, and these falling down towards the castle, were driven on shore by a violent storm, and the attempt was not renewed. Preparations had been made for an assault on the west

side of the town, with four thousand men, if there had been a serious attack by the British on Dorchester Heights. All farther hope of maintaining his position in Boston was now abandoned by General Howe; and he prepared for a precipitate evacuation. His departure was characterized with all the haste and tumult of a flight. On the 17th of March, 1776, the city was abandoned; and in a few days the whole fleet, of seventy-eight vessels, carrying eleven thousand men, including sailors and one thousand refugees, sailed out of Nantucket road for Halifax. The same day, General Putnam took possession of Boston; and, on the 18th, the commander-in-chief entered. This event was hailed with the utmost enthusiasm throughout the whole country. A vote of thanks was passed by Congress to the general and the army, "for their wise and spirited conduct in the siege and acquisition of Boston;" and a gold medal ordered to be struck, having on one side a view of the general and his staff, surveying the departure of the enemy's fleet from Boston, and the motto, "Hostibus primo fugatis."

Though it was known that the immediate destination of the fleet was Halifax, Washington had no doubt that New York was to be the next place of attack. A portion of the American troops were accordingly moved to the south, before the fleet had left the road; as soon as they had actually put to sea, Washington himself set out, and arrived in New York on the 13th of April: and orders were issued to concentrate the whole force at that place; which was effected a few days after. Shortly after, the general visited Philadelphia, for the purpose of a personal interview with Congress, and was absent about a fortnight. On the 28th of June, General Howe, with a part of his fleet, appeared off Sandy Hook; the residue followed in a few days, and the British headquarters were established at Staten Island, where it was intended to wait for reinforcements, which were expected under Lord Howe, the

brother of General Howe, who was also invested with powers as a commissioner to treat with the colonies. His arrival did not take place until the middle of July: meanwhile the Declaration of Independence had been published, and all schemes of that kind were for ever concluded. Lord Howe attempted to open communications with General Washington, by sending a letter with a flag, but, with singular imbecility of judgment, defeated its design by refusing to recognise the official station and rank of the commander-in-chief. The resentment of the country and of Congress was quickened by this injudicious arrogance of one who had professed to come with offers of reconciliation, and the possibility of an accommodation was less than ever.

By the middle of August, 1776, all the reinforcements expected from England—making the whole force about twenty-five thousand men—had arrived; and it was obvious that the fate of New York was speedily to be decided. Even after the arrival of the troops from Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland, the rank and file of Washington's army did not amount to eight thousand men present and fit for duty. A body of militia, chiefly from New York and Connecticut, raised the number of the American force to about double that amount. Of these forces, one brigade was at Brooklyn, where an extensive camp had been laid out and strongly fortified, towards the main part of the island, by works erected by General Greene, and, on the water side, defended by batteries at Red Hook and Governor's Island. The principal portion of the army was on the island of New York, where a fort, at the north part of the island, and opposite to Fort Lee, called Fort Washington, had been erected, and was rapidly strengthening. Efforts to obstruct the passage of the river, between these forts, had been made. At King's Bridge, where a body of three thousand New York militia, under General George Clinton, were assembled, the

grounds were strongly fortified. Redoubts were thrown up in various places; batteries erected along the North and East rivers, and every arrangement for defence, that the case allowed of, was made.

In directing the erection of works at Brooklyn, General Washington had probably from an early period anticipated what actually took place—that the attack upon New York would be made across Long Island. Towards the close of August, the probability of this course being adopted having become much stronger, General Sullivan, who had succeeded General Greene in the command, the latter having become ill with a fever, was strongly reinforced. On the morning of the 22d of August, the principal part of the British army landed, under the command of General Clinton, between the Narrows and Sandy Hook, and took up a position, extending through Utrecht and Gravesend, from the Narrows to the village of Flatbush. On the 25th, General Putnam was ordered to take the command at Brooklyn, and a reinforcement of six regiments was sent there. On the 26th, General Washington passed the day at Brooklyn, giving directions, and enforcing upon all the necessity of vigilance and enterprise; in the evening he returned to New York, at a very early hour. On the 27th, the engagement began. The American position, it has been stated, consisted of an entrenched camp, behind Brooklyn, or a line of redoubts extending across the peninsula along the high ground, from Wallabout Bay, on the East river, on the left, to a deep marsh beside a creek, near Governor's Cove, on the right. Between the two armies extended a range of thickly wooded hills. The British centre, composed of Hessians, under De Hiester, was at Flatbush, about four miles from the American lines, and communicating with Brooklyn by two roads, one directly across the heights, and the other somewhat more circuitous, through the village of Bedford, on the Brooklyn side. The left was under General Grant, near the Nar-

rows, about five miles distant, connecting with Brooklyn by a road along the coast, by Governor's Cove. The right, under General Clinton, with whom were Earl Percy and Lord Cornwallis, about nine at night, on the 26th, moved silently by a circuitous route into the road leading from Jamaica to Bedford. The coast road, and the road between Flatbush and Bedford, had been strongly guarded by detachments, and on the hills; on the direct road from Flatbush, a fort had been constructed by the Americans, but, on the Jamaica road, only a few slight patrols were stationed, and the pass on the heights was wholly unoccupied. This neglect, on the part of General Putnam, who, by written instructions from the commander-in-chief, on the 25th, had been directed to guard the roads between the camps with his best troops, was the cause of the disaster which resulted. At about three o'clock in the morning, intelligence was brought that Grant was in motion, on the coast road. Lord Stirling was directed to advance against him, and General Sullivan against the centre, at Flatbush. These detachments were reinforced during the morning, and the contest went on with the greatest spirit. Meanwhile Clinton, who, by his movement to the extreme right, had reached and seized the pass upon the Jamaica road, captured the patrols, having completely outflanked the American army, and, about daybreak, was in full march to take them in the rear. About nine o'clock, Clinton had reached Bedford, and Sullivan, engaged with De Hiester in front, found himself hopelessly surrounded; his men retreated, skirmishing with great obstinacy and spirit, which, owing to the irregular nature of the ground, they were able to do with great effect, but he himself was captured. Lord Stirling, taken in the rear by a detachment under Lord Cornwallis, met with the same fate; and the discomfiture of the American army was complete. In this engagement, the American force amounted to about five thousand, and the British to fifteen

thousand, with an excellent artillery. The American loss amounted to about twelve hundred; of whom nearly eleven hundred were made prisoners. The British loss was twenty-one officers, and three hundred and forty-six soldiers, killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. Nothing but the excessive caution of General Howe prevented the camp at Brooklyn being attacked and perhaps carried by his victorious army. The American troops, especially those under Lord Stirling, comprising Shee's Pennsylvania, Haslett's Delaware, and Smallwood's Maryland regiments, were admitted to have behaved with the utmost gallantry. General Washington crossed over to the camp at Brooklyn, when the engagement became warm; and is said to have beheld with "inexpressible anguish"* the overthrow and destruction of his best troops. The loss, however, proved far less than was reasonably to have been expected. General Washington seems, during the 27th, to have intended to risk another engagement at the camp; and for that purpose orders were sent to Mifflin, at King's Bridge, to repair with some Pennsylvania troops to Brooklyn; but, on the evening of that day, it became evident that the enemy intended to rely upon regular approaches, with the aid of the fleet, and not to hazard an assault upon the works.

The 28th passed without important occurrences; a heavy rain operating nearly to suspend all action on either side. On the 29th a heavy fog prevailed, but a sudden change in the wind revealed the British fleet at anchor off Staten Island, preparing evidently to take advantage of a breeze, which if it continued, would enable them to come up into the East river, and cut off all communication with the opposite shore. Nothing remained but to take the most immediate measures for removing the American troops from Long Island. Fortunately the fog continued during

* The expression of the judicial historian, who rarely used intensities.

49

responsible for the event. But General Greene continued to the end of his life to be confident in the correctness of the advice which he had given, and to maintain that the fault was in the garrison, which became seized with unwarrantable panic, and that if it had done its duty, the place would have been saved. The great abilities and experience of General Greene, as well as the candour of his mind, induce great confidence in an opinion thus maturely and confidently expressed by him; and the better conclusion appears to be, that none of the general officers were in fault, but that the misbehaviour and cowardice of the garrison, who surrendered at the first summons, was the cause of the calamity. The loss of Fort Washington rendered Fort Lee untenable; and the removal of the stores from it commenced on the 18th. Meanwhile, Lord Cornwallis, with a force of ten thousand men, had crossed the North river below Dobbs's Ferry, and was endeavouring by a rapid march to enclose the army between that river and the Hackensac. General Washington, abandoning the remaining stores and artillery at Fort Lee, made a hasty retreat behind the Hackensac. The Passaic presented the same danger which he had just escaped, and he crossed it and retired to Newark. Lord Cornwallis continuing to advance, Washington left that town and continued his retreat through Elizabethtown, New Brunswick, and Princeton, to Trenton, where he arrived about the end of December. He crossed the river on the 8th, and having secured the boats, and guarded the banks from Coryell's Ferry to Bristol, he prepared to maintain his position on the right bank of that river. The British occupied successively, Princeton, Trenton, Burlington, and Mount Holly, but exhibited no disposition as yet to pass the Delaware. The force under Washington, fit for duty, was about three thousand men.

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matter was, his excellency said, 'Good God! General Mifflin, I am afraid you have ruined us, by so unseasonably withdrawing the troops from the lines.' General Mifflin replied with some warmth, 'I did it by your order.' His excellency declared it could not be. General Mifflin swore, 'by God, I did!' and asked, 'did Scammell act as an aid-de-camp for the day, or did he not?' His excellency acknowledged he did. 'Then,' said Mifflin, 'I had orders through him.' The general replied it was a dreadful mistake, and informed him that matters were in much confusion at the ferry, and unless we could resume our posts before the enemy discovered we had left them, in all probability the most disagreeable consequences would follow. We immediately returned, and had the good fortune to recover our former stations, and keep them for some hours longer without the enemy perceiving what was going forward."

The retreat from Long Island is one of the most brilliant achievements recorded in military history. But the effect the whole series of occurrences during the last few days produced throughout the community, was a discouragement amounting almost to dismay. The British fleet now commanded the East river, and it was obvious to all experienced observers that New York must be evacuated; but there being some opinions strongly in favour of maintaining possession, it was but partially abandoned. The British continued inactive during the next fortnight, in consequence of the attempt at negotiation, on Staten Island, between Lord Howe and the envoys of Congress, Franklin, Adams, and Rutledge; an undertaking which proved wholly abortive. On the 15th of September, three ships of war passed up the North river, as far as Bloomingdale. On the same day, Sir Henry Clinton landed at Kip's bay, on the East river, about three miles above New York, with four thousand men, under cover of a fire from a detachment of the fleet. Arrangements had been made for a

spirited resistance at this point, where some works had been constructed; but the disorderly and precipitate retreat of Parsons's and Fellows's Connecticut brigades of militia, who had been ordered to support the troops in the lines, defeated this design. The flight of the militia communicated a panic to the regular troops within the works; and Washington, who was advancing to direct the defence in person, had the mortification to find the whole force in rapid and shameful retreat. He exposed himself with the utmost intrepidity, in the hope of rallying the courage of the troops, but in vain. Owing to the failure of this part of the plan, the division in New York, under General Putnam, was obliged to retire hurriedly, and with the loss of all the heavy artillery, and a large quantity of provisions and military stores, and a small loss of men in a skirmish at Bloomingdale. The forces were all drawn into the lines on the heights at Haerlem. King's Bridge, which had been strongly fortified, Mount Washington, and an entrenched position on Haerlem heights, about a mile and a half from the British lines, were the strongest points on the American side. On the 16th of September, the day after the evacuation, a considerable force of British appeared in the plain between the armies, and a spirited action, commanded chiefly by Colonel Knowlton and Major Leitch, but in which Generals Putnam and Greene and many other officers participated, took place, in which the British were gallantly repulsed. This slight affair had a great effect in reviving the spirits of the army.

The first plan attempted by Sir William Howe—for the honour of knighthood had been conferred on him in consequence of his success on Long Island—was to take the American army in the rear. On the 9th of October, some vessels were sent up the Hudson, which succeeded in passing the forts and breaking through all the obstructions in the river. On the 12th, a landing was effected at Frog's Point, on the sound, above Hell Gate. Afterwards

this force was re-embarked, and landed again at Pell's Point, and moved towards New Rochelle. To prevent being outflanked, the American army was moved up the river, its left extending to White Plains, beyond the British right. Fort Washington, it was resolved in council, should be retained as long as possible, and two thousand men were left for that purpose. The armies continued to manœuvre near one another, with great caution, occasional engagements taking place between detached parties, until the American army was gradually concentrated and entrenched at White Plains. On the 28th of October, the British army came before the camp, and a height called Chatterton's Hill, was the scene of a short engagement which resulted favourably to the British. Sir William Howe did not pursue the advantage, but awaited the arrival of reinforcements from Earl Percy, then at Haerlem. On the arrival of these, at the end of two days, an attack was expected; but a heavy rain on the 31st, caused it to be again deferred. On the same night Washington withdrew to a still higher and more impregnable position on the hills; and an attack having become hopeless, Sir William Howe withdrew his army, and descended the river. It was with little difficulty anticipated, that an attack on Fort Washington, and an advance into the Jerseys, was the principal design now contemplated by the British. After the fleet had sailed past this fort, General Washington had intimated to General Greene, whose headquarters were at Fort Lee, that the preservation of Fort Washington had ceased to be desirable, and that it had become a hazardous repository for the military stores. Greene's opinion was confident, that it might be maintained. It was assaulted violently on the 16th of November, and, as is well known, was surrendered with two thousand men. This was one of the severest blows the American cause had yet met with, and it gave rise to much animated controversy. It appears to be clear, that General Greene was

responsible for the event. But General Greene continued to the end of his life to be confident in the correctness of the advice which he had given, and to maintain that the fault was in the garrison, which became seized with unwarrantable panic, and that if it had done its duty, the place would have been saved. The great abilities and experience of General Greene, as well as the candour of his mind, induce great confidence in an opinion thus maturely and confidently expressed by him; and the better conclusion appears to be, that none of the general officers were in fault, but that the misbehaviour and cowardice of the garrison, who surrendered at the first summons, was the cause of the calamity. The loss of Fort Washington rendered Fort Lee untenable; and the removal of the stores from it commenced on the 18th. Meanwhile, Lord Cornwallis, with a force of ten thousand men, had crossed the North river below Dobbs's Ferry, and was endeavouring by a rapid march to enclose the army between that river and the Hackensac. General Washington, abandoning the remaining stores and artillery at Fort Lee, made a hasty retreat behind the Hackensac. The Passaic presented the same danger which he had just escaped, and he crossed it and retired to Newark. Lord Cornwallis continuing to advance, Washington left that town and continued his retreat through Elizabethtown, New Brunswick, and Princeton, to Trenton, where he arrived about the end of December. He crossed the river on the 8th, and having secured the boats, and guarded the banks from Coryell's Ferry to Bristol, he prepared to maintain his position on the right bank of that river. The British occupied successively, Princeton, Trenton, Burlington, and Mount Holly, but exhibited no disposition as yet to pass the Delaware. The force under Washington, fit for duty, was about three thousand men.

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adopted the year before at Cambridge, were now felt. At the moment when the utmost force was needed, the army was melting away into nothingness. Proclamation of pardon had been made by Lord and Sir William Howe, jointly, and the period expiring about the end of the year, many persons of distinction, especially at Philadelphia, had given in their pledge of allegiance. Every thing seemed to be yielding, except the indomitable mind of Washington. He was asked what he would do if Philadelphia should be taken, and his reply was, "we will retreat beyond the Susquehanna river, and then, if necessary, beyond the Alleghany mountains." On the 20th of December, he addressed a letter to Congress demanding one hundred and ten new battalions, and exposing, with the keenest vigour of argument, the folly of the jealous and short-sighted policy that had been previously adopted. Congress, at this immediate presence of danger, suspended its apprehensions of an abuse of power, and responded fully to his appeal, investing him for six months with powers almost *dictatorial*. He was joined about this time, by Lee's division, and the regiments from Ticonderoga, and some excellent volunteer troops from Philadelphia and its neighbourhood. The first city troop, under command of Captain Samuel Morris, rendered important service.

At this season of gloom, the giant blow which retrieved the fortunes of America, and gave hope and energy to the patriotism of the country, was contrived in the fertile mind, and dealt by the powerful arm, of the commander-in-chief himself. A day or two before Christmas, 1776, orders were secretly issued for a simultaneous attack upon the British posts on the left of the Delaware. Washington was to cross the river a little above Trenton; General Irvine was to cross at Trenton Ferry, a little below; while Cadwalader, from Bristol, was to cross at Dunk's Ferry, and fall upon the detachments under Count Donop, at Mount Holly, Bordentown, Burlington, and the Black

Horse. The night of the 25th was fixed on for the attack. The troops under Washington began to cross at McConky's Ferry, nine miles above Trenton, about sunset, but the darkness, the ice, and the force of the current, and a high wind, retarded the operation so much, that it was four o'clock in the morning before the troops were formed on the other side, when it began to hail and snow. They were divided into two columns; the left commanded by Washington in person, and accompanied by Lord Stirling, and Generals Greene and Mercer, was to go by the Pennington road, and advance into the town by King's, now Greene, street; the right, under Sullivan, with St. Clair's brigade, was to keep along the river road, and enter the town by Water street, with directions to halt at the edge of the town till they heard that the party on the left were engaged. About eight o'clock in the morning, the enemy were driven in on all sides, and after some random firing endeavoured to form on the Main street, but a six-gun battery under Captain Forest, directed by Washington in person, who pointed out the objects of aim, at the head of King street, played with great effect. Captain William Washington, and Lieutenant James Monroe, at the head of the advanced guard of their column, perceiving that the enemy attempted to form a battery, rushed in upon them, drove the artillerists from their guns, and captured two pieces in the act of firing. Meantime, Sullivan and his column were advancing on the enemy's left, and it was evident that farther resistance was in vain. A troop of dragoons, with about five hundred infantry, escaped across the Assanpink, and took the road to Bordentown; and the main body made a movement by their right, up the Assanpink, with a view of escaping to Princeton, but Washington immediately threw the rifle corps under Colonel Hand in the way to intercept them. Finding themselves sur rounded, the force was surrendered at discretion. In this affair, twenty-three officers and one thousand men were

made prisoners, and about fifty of the enemy killed; Colonel Rahl, the Hessian officer in command, was shot from his horse, and afterward died of his wounds. The American loss consisted of two killed, four wounded, and one frozen to death. The detachments under Irvine and Cadwalader were not able to effect their passage. Had they done so, there can be no doubt that the whole force to the south of Trenton must have been captured. They retreated at once to Princeton. Washington having secured his prisoners, recrossed the Delaware the same day, but returned on the 30th of December, and took up his quarters at Trenton. The effect of this brilliant achievement upon the country was electric. One deep impression of gratitude and confidence thrilled through the nation.

At this moment the term of enlistment of the old army, of which several regiments were with Washington, expired; and it required all the exertions of the officers, and a considerable bounty, to induce them to remain for six weeks longer. When intelligence of the affair at Trenton reached New York, Cornwallis was immediately directed to take command in the Jerseys, and he hastened at once to Princeton, and prepared to advance against Washington at Trenton. On the morning of January 6th, they began to move from Princeton. Washington had posted detachments along the road with directions to skirmish, and delay the enemy as long as possible. The head of the enemy's columns reached Trenton about four o'clock in the afternoon, when the American army took position on the high ground beyond the Assanpink, and kept up a sharp cannonade at the bridge and fords which the enemy attempted to pass. Cornwallis, with very superior numbers, determined to defer the attack until the morning; certain that his foe was at last within his power. Washington had seemed to be in a false position; but his resources were not easily exhausted. A council of war was held at St. Clair's quarters in the evening, and it was there deter-

mined, it is said upon St. Clair's suggestion, to move off in the night, pass the enemy's left, and fall upon their rear at Princeton. Accordingly the baggage was sent off to Burlington, a fatigue party set to work on the entrenchments, within hearing of the enemy's sentinels, the guards doubled, with directions to use the neighbouring fences for fuel, and keep up blazing fires till the morning, when they were to retire; and meantime the troops silently filed off by detachments, and moved towards Princeton. A little after sunrise the advanced corps under General Mercer encountered a brigade, under Lieutenant-Colonel Mawhood, consisting of the 17th, 40th and 55th regiments, at Stoney Brook, on their march to Trenton. A severe conflict ensued between the 17th and the Americans under Mercer, who being reinforced by Washington, in a short time broke and dispersed that regiment; and the 55th and 40th retreated to Brunswick. The British lost one hundred killed, and three hundred prisoners; but the loss of Mercer, who was mortally wounded, and of several other officers of great bravery and merit who were killed on the field, attested the severity of the conflict. The departure of the Americans from Trenton was discovered at daylight; and soon after the firing at Princeton was heard. Lord Cornwallis, alarmed for the safety of his stores at Brunswick, at once retreated, and his advanced guard entered Princeton as Washington's rear was leaving it. The latter pursued the fugitive regiments as far as Kingston; and nothing but the want of a few fresh troops prevented his falling upon Brunswick before it could be relieved. As it was he turned off to Pluckamin, which he reached that evening, and after the troops were refreshed, moved to Morristown, where winter quarters were established. The difficulty of access to the enemy, and the abundant supplies to be obtained from the country in the rear, recommended this place for the purpose. Detachments were constantly sent out to beat up the enemy, and in a

short time, the only posts in New Jersey, in possession of the British, were Brunswick and Amboy, both of which communicated directly with New York by water. Such was the brilliant change in the situation of the Americans between the 26th of December, when Washington first crossed to Trenton, and the 6th of January, when, having driven the enemy from New Jersey, he entered Morristown. Such achievements raised the military renown of their author to the highest pitch, and kindled the confidence of his countrymen into enthusiasm.

No general operations again took place in the field until the 13th of June, when Sir William Howe, at the head of the British army, advanced from Brunswick, and took position between that place and Millstone, and behind the Raritan. The object was to invite an attack, but Washington declining the disadvantageous offer, the British, after about six days, broke up, and soon after evacuated Brunswick, and retired to Amboy, their rear being followed by three regiments, under General Greene, and suffering considerable loss. Some manœuvring between the adverse generals took place, without effect, and Sir William Howe crossed to Staten Island, and abandoned the Jerseys. Preparations at New York for an expedition by sea had been going on for some time, and when intelligence arrived of Burgoyne's advance into the state, it was supposed that Howe intended to sail up the Hudson and effect a junction with him. Other indications suggested Philadelphia as the place to which Sir William's attention was directed. All conjectures were terminated by the appearance of the fleet off the capes of Delaware, in July, and the American army was marched to Germantown. The fleet, however, again disappeared, and nothing was known of its destination until it entered the Chesapeake, when the design on Philadelphia became certain. On the 25th of August, the British army landed at the head of the Elk. Washington took up a position on the high ground on the

left bank of Brandywine creek, about Chad's Ford. His left, consisting of the Pennsylvania militia, under General Armstrong, was about two miles below, and General Sullivan, with the right wing, was posted above; and the fords, as high as the forks of the creek, about six miles above, were guarded. On the 10th of September, 1777, the British headquarters were at Kennet Square, about seven miles from Chad's Ford. At an early hour, a large force, under Knyphausen, advanced towards the creek, and became engaged with the Americans, but did not attempt to cross; a heavy cannonade and a good deal of skirmishing were kept up during the morning. The event was decided by a skilful movement similar to that which was executed on Long Island. At daybreak, the larger part of the British army moved, under Lord Cornwallis, to some fords above the forks, the existence of which was not known to the Americans, the peasantry being universally disaffected to the continental cause. Intelligence of the movement was brought to Washington, and, with consummate judgment and decision, he immediately ordered the whole army to cross the creek. While this movement was being executed, counter information arrived, stating that the first report had been a mistake, and a halt was ordered, to wait for more certain intelligence. The delay was fatal. About three o'clock, Lord Cornwallis appeared in full force upon Sullivan's flank. Arrangements were rapidly made to meet and encounter him; but, before the troops could be formed, the British rushed upon them, and they were driven from the ground. At the same time Knyphausen crossed, and, with vastly superior force, engaged with General Wayne. General Greene, at the head of a division, covered the retreat, and checked the pursuit, by a succession of spirited engagements till dark, when the Americans retreated in much disorder to Chester. The British force on this occasion was much the superior; and though the result was disastrous, neither the American

army nor general was dispirited. The day after the battle, Washington encamped near Germantown. A series of manœuvres took place on both sides, but no general engagement. Congress moved first to Lancaster, and afterwards to Yorktown, and the British entered Philadelphia. The fleet, meanwhile, came around into the Delaware; but an obstinate and prolonged defence was made at Fort Mifflin, which, however, was finally taken.

In the beginning of October, the American army was at Skippack creek, about fourteen miles above Germantown. The larger part of the British army was in Germantown, and the residue in Philadelphia. It appeared to Washington a favourable opportunity for a surprise. Accordingly, on the evening of the 3d of October, the army was divided into four columns, which were to enter the town in different directions. The main attack was to be made by Sullivan and Wayne, entering from the north, by the main road; Greene, with Stephens and M'Dougall, was to make a *detour* by the left, and fall upon the right wing; while Forman and Smallwood, at the head of the Jersey and Maryland militia, were to approach by a route still farther to the left, and take the right wing in the rear; Armstrong, with the Pennsylvania militia, was to descend along the Schuylkill, and attack the enemy's left. About sunrise, Wayne and Sullivan's advanced guard drove in the picket at the north of the town, and rushing forward with the greatest impetuosity, effected a complete surprise; and after a brief contest, distinguished by the especial ardour of the troops under Wayne, drove the enemy before them, and pursued them above a mile beyond Chew's house. The victory appeared to be certain, when, in the obscurity of a heavy fog which prevailed, some mistakes occurred, which checked the course of success. General Armstrong's division coming up on the right, was unfortunately taken for a body of the enemy, and the men began to retreat; meanwhile a detachment

of the 40th regiment, under Colonel Musgrave, which had been encamped in a field to the east of Chew's house, threw themselves into that building, and commenced a heavy fire. The second line of the Americans, which was advancing to support General Wayne, was detained by this incident, and, instead of pressing forward, it was determined to attack this building. A parley was beaten, which the troops in front, already alarmed by the appearance of Armstrong's men, and having, in the two hours and a half that the pursuit had continued, nearly exhausted the forty rounds of ammunition which they took with them into the field, mistook for a signal to retreat. They retired, in disorder, upon the second line; the whole fell into confusion; Sir William Howe was approaching with considerable force; and the Americans retreated to Skippack creek, leaving their enemies in possession of the field. Yet the moral consequences of a victory remained with the Americans. The direct effect of the engagement was to shut up Sir William Howe within the city of Philadelphia, and to leave the American camp unmolested during the winter; and, co-operating with the surrender of Burgoyne, which occurred about the same time, it had an important influence in determining the court of France to the American alliance.

A few days after the battle of Germantown, Washington encamped at Whitemarsh, about fourteen miles from Philadelphia. Great activity in cutting off detached foraging parties of the enemy was kept up, but nothing of moment occurred. On the 18th of December, the army went into winter quarters at Valley Forge, about twenty miles above Philadelphia. This encampment consisted of a collection of log-huts, arranged in the form of a regular town, with streets; twelve privates being lodged in a hut. The sufferings of the army during this severe and inclement winter have been too often described to render a repetition in this place desirable. The principal political

occurrences of this period, were the exposure of what was called the Conway cabal, and the arrival of the British commissioners, Lord Carlisle, Mr. Eden, Governor Johnstone, and their secretary, Dr. Adam Ferguson, who reached Philadelphia in the spring of 1778.

On the 2d of May, 1778, intelligence of the treaty of amity and defensive alliance between France and the United States, which had been signed at Paris, on the 6th of February, was received by Congress; and this occurrence, which placed France and England at open war, made an entire change in the plans of the British, and secured the evacuation of Philadelphia. Sir William Howe had been recalled, at his own request, and Sir Henry Clinton had succeeded him as commander of his majesty's forces in America. The British ministry had resolved to make a sudden attack on the French possessions in the West Indies; and, to aid this design, Clinton was directed to detach five thousand men from his army, to send another corps of three thousand to Florida, and to concentrate the remainder at New York. Clinton embarked a part of his forces, with the heavy baggage, and provision train, on board his fleet, and prepared to march with the bulk of his army across New Jersey. Philadelphia was evacuated on the 18th of June; and, as the British army moved down Second street, the American advance, under Captain M'Lane, entered the city, and fell upon the enemy's rear; and a few days after, General Arnold took possession of the city. The British army crossed to Gloucester, and marched the same day to Haddonfield. A council of war was called by Washington, to decide upon a plan of operations. The commander-in-chief, with Greene, Wayne, and Cadwalader, were in favour of harassing the enemy on their march, and bringing them to a general engagement, whenever an advantageous opportunity occurred; but the opposite opinion prevailed, chiefly through the influence of General Lee, who had recently reached head-

quarters after his exchange; and it was decided not to seek either a general or a partial engagement. The movements of Clinton rendered it doubtful whether he would follow the route to Staten Island, crossing the Raritan, or whether he would pass through Brunswick to Amboy; and in this uncertainty, Washington moved by a circuitous route to Hopewell, about five miles from Princeton, which he reached on the 23d of June, and occupied until the 25th; Dickinson, with the Jersey militia, and Maxwell, annoying the left of the enemy, and Cadwalader and Morgan pressing upon their rear until they reached Allentown. Another council was convened by Washington, at which he urged the expediency of bringing the enemy to a general engagement, before they could reach the high ground to the north; his opinion was warmly sustained by Greene, Wayne, and Lafayette, but a majority, under the influence of General Lee, again decided against any such measure. After the council, Colonel Hamilton called on General Greene, and induced him to join him in urging the commander-in-chief to take the responsibility of acting on his own judgment. As they approached General Washington, who was sitting in his tent, he rose, and said, "Gentlemen, I anticipate the object of your visit—you wish me to fight." The disgrace of allowing the enemy to march off, without an attempt to molest him, was represented; and it was determined by Washington that an attack should be made. A detachment of fifteen hundred men, under General Scott, of Virginia, was advanced to harass the rear and the left flank of the enemy; another body of one thousand was sent forward, under General Wayne, in the evening, to join this detachment, which now amounted to four thousand men, and was pushed forward close upon the enemy. It being proper that this force should be under the command of a general officer, Lee yielded his claim of seniority, and the command was given to Lafayette. This arrangement had no sooner been made, than

Lee, sensible of his mistake, desired to resume the privilege which he had resigned. The difficulty was arranged by Washington, with his usual delicacy. On the 25th and 26th, the enemy moved from Allentown towards Monmouth Court-House, the baggage being thrown in front, under Knyphausen's care, the flying army in the rear, with a rear guard of one thousand a few hundred paces behind the main body—these were under the command of Lord Cornwallis, accompanied by Sir Henry Clinton. On the morning of the 28th, they were encamped in a strong position near Monmouth Court-House. Meanwhile, on the 25th and 26th, General Washington, with the main body of his army, advanced to Cranberry, and was detained there during the 26th by a heavy storm. Early on the 27th, the advanced corps, under Lafayette, moved forward to Englishtown, and the main army encamped within three miles of that place. On the same day, to relieve the feelings of General Lee, Washington sent him forward, with two brigades, to join Lafayette, whom of course he would supersede in command, but with orders that if any operation had been already begun by Lafayette, he was to aid in carrying it out. The position of the British at Monmouth during the night of the 27th, being covered by a wood in front, a swamp in the rear, and woods on both flanks, was quite unassailable; and they were within twelve miles of the high grounds about Middletown, where they would be safe. Washington's plan was to attack them while on their march, and as soon as they were in motion. At about five o'clock on Sunday morning, the 28th, intelligence was brought that the front of the enemy had begun its march. Lee had been ordered, the evening before, to attack the rear as soon as it should move from the ground; and, in the morning, fresh orders were sent to him to attack the rear "unless there should be powerful reasons to the contrary." He was informed also that the rear division would advance

to his support. Lord Stirling was in command of the left wing; and General Greene, at the head of the right wing, had been ordered to file off, and follow a road which would bring him upon the enemy's flank and rear. Washington, about six miles in the rear, advanced with the main body of the army. He had marched about five miles, and had just halted his troops, and dismounted for a few moments, the day being excessively hot, when, as he stood with his arm extended over his large sorrel horse, intelligence was brought to him that Lee's whole division, consisting of five thousand men, were in full retreat, and pursued by the entire force of the enemy. Uttering an exclamation of amazement and indignation, he sprang upon his horse, hastened to the rear of Lee's division, and instantly ordered Wayne to renew the combat, directed Colonel Oswald to bring up some cannon, and called out, with vehemence, to Colonels Ramsay and Stewart, that they were the officers on whom he should rely to give the enemy a check; and then, turning to Lee, demanded impatiently the cause of his retreat. He answered, "Sir—sir," with hesitation; stating that the movement was owing to contradictory information and misapprehension of orders, and that he did not choose to beard the British army in that situation, and that, besides, the attack was contrary to his opinion. Washington replied, that whatever General Lee's opinions might be, he expected that his orders would be obeyed; and soon after ordered him to Englishtown, four miles in the rear, to collect the scattered troops, and assemble them in that place. The measures taken by Washington checked the British so far as to give time for the second line of the army to form upon an eminence. Meanwhile Lord Stirling, on the left, brought some batteries of cannon to bear upon the enemy with such effect as to stop their advance in that direction; and General Greene, as soon as he heard of these occurrences, pushed forward to an advantageous position on the

right, crowned it with artillery, and opened a severe fire. Successive attempts to turn the American left and right flanks were repulsed with great bravery; and Wayne, in the centre, advancing with a body of infantry, and delivering a heavy fire, the enemy retreated behind the morass, to the ground which they had occupied before the engagement. Washington, with the most determined ardour, resolved to carry their position. General Poor was ordered to move upon their right, with two brigades, and General Woodford upon their left, while Colonel Knox opened upon them with his artillery in front; but the obstacles of the road prevented these arrangements being effected before it became dark. It was intended to renew the engagement in the morning, and Washington passed the night in his cloak, among the soldiers, on the field. During the night, however, Clinton silently withdrew towards Sandy Hook, leaving his wounded behind. Being beyond the reach of attack, Washington moved his army first to Brunswick, but, learning that the enemy had landed in New York, he marched up for the protection of the Hudson, which he crossed at Stony Point, and encamped at White Plains.

This was in many respects the greatest battle of the Revolution. The arrangements of Washington were made with consummate skill; and nothing but the cowardice, or treason, or madness of Lee prevented a signal, perhaps conclusive, victory. It is impossible upon a survey of the whole conduct of that passionate and irregular officer, from the time of the first movement from Philadelphia, to avoid the justness of Colonel Hamilton's opinion, that Lee "meditated the disgrace of the Americans." On the other hand, in no scene of the war does Washington appear to such advantage. On his fine sorrel horse, and with his spy-glass in his hand, he occupied a commanding situation within the line of the enemy's fire, after the retreat had been checked; and the whole army was inspired by the firmness, grandeur, and perfect composure of his bearing.

At one time, his position, with a number of officers around him, attracted the particular fire of the enemy. The majesty of Washington's appearance was noted by many observers on that day. "It was such," said Colonel Willett, "as to excite admiration and respect. His noble countenance displayed the greatness of his mind; and his whole demeanour was calculated to command veneration. I have seen him in a variety of situations, and none in which he did not appear great; but never did I see him when he exhibited such greatness as on this day." "Never was General Washington greater in war than in this action," said the Marquis de Lafayette, in a letter to Judge Marshall. "His presence stopped the retreat. His dispositions fixed the victory. His fine appearance on horseback, his calm courage, roused by the animation produced by the vexation of the morning, gave him the air best calculated to excite enthusiasm." A painter—desirous to fix, with appropriate dignity, the most heroic expression of those great features, the most commanding attitude of that august form—could not select a fitter moment than that in which he turned in his indignation at the reception of the intelligence of Lee's retreat, or that in which having checked the disaster and issued the orders by which the day was retrieved, he sat upon his horse in the strength of a great mind's composure, and beheld the tide of victory flow back beneath him.

About the time of these occurrences, the French fleet, consisting of twelve ships of the line, and four frigates, arrived off the capes of the Delaware. One vessel sailed up the river, conveying M. Gerard, the first minister from France to the United States; and the rest sailed round to Sandy Hook. A combined attack upon New York was projected, but found impracticable. Measures were then taken for a joint expedition by the Count D'Estaing and a body of troops under General Sullivan, against the British garrison of six thousand, at Newport; but this also

proved abortive, and D'Estaing sailed for Boston, under feelings of much irritation, which it required the interposition and skill of Washington to allay. Washington continued during the summer and autumn to observe the British, who without developing any plan, remained in New York, sending out foraging parties who ravaged the neighbouring country, and occasionally surprised a detachment. An attack on Bayler's dragoons, near Tappan, and another upon Pulaski's legion, at Egg Harbour, were marked by circumstances of peculiar ferocity. In December, the army went into winter quarters; being cantoned along a line between Danbury and West Point on the north, and Middlebrook to the south, where headquarters were established. At this time an invasion of Canada was a favourite project with Congress, and a plan for this purpose was submitted by that body to Washington, who in an able letter condemned the project and exposed its futility. Subsequently, on the 24th of December, he visited Philadelphia in person, and after several interviews on the subject, between himself and a committee of Congress, the project was abandoned.

On the first of June, 1779, the British squadron, after returning from a predatory attack upon Virginia, sailed up the North river and captured Stoney Point and Verplank's Point; the presence of Washington, and the prompt dispositions made by him, prevented the success of an attempt to force the Highlands, and command the passes and posts on the upper Hudson. Headquarters were fixed at New Windsor, a few miles above West Point, and the army distributed about the Highlands. In the beginning of July, a corps of about two thousand six hundred men, under Governor Tryon, sailed from New York along the sound, and entered Connecticut, plundering, and ravaging, and burning Fairfield, Norwalk, and New Haven. To counteract the discouraging effects of these invasions, Washington resolved upon an attempt to recover Stoney Point; and his instructions were given with great precision to General

Wayne, who on the night of the 15th of July, with the utmost gallantry stormed and carried that post. Being found, however, not tenable, with the enemy in command of the river, it was afterwards abandoned. About a month after this, Major Henry Lee, with about three hundred men, and a troop of dismounted dragoons, surprised the enemy at Paulus Hook, and made a hundred and fifty-nine prisoners, having lost but two killed and three wounded. Towards the end of July, Washington's headquarters were moved to West Point, where he continued during the summer and autumn. About the end of December, the army went into winter quarters, chiefly in posts along the Hudson, the cavalry being in Connecticut, and headquarters at Morristown. The winter was distinguished by Lord Stirling's attack upon Staten Island. In the month of June, 1780, a considerable force from New York, under General Knyphausen, crossed over and made a descent into New Jersey, but it was met at Springfield by some detachments from the American army, and after a sharp encounter was driven back to Staten Island. Washington took a position near the Hudson, from which he could defend either the Highlands or New Jersey, in case of incursions. In April, Lafayette, who had visited France the preceding season, returned with intelligence that a considerable naval and land force might soon be expected from France, to aid the operations of the Americans; and accordingly, on the 16th of July, 1780, a French fleet of seven ships of the line, and two frigates, under the Chevalier de Ternay, with an army of five thousand men commanded by Count Rochambeau, entered the harbour of Newport. It was intended that other forces then at Brest should follow, but a blockade of that harbour by an English force prevented their ever arriving. Plans were immediately formed for combined operations against New York, but the British fleet having by the arrival of reinforcements under Admiral Graves, become superior to the

French, the latter was blockaded in the harbour of Newport, by Admiral Arbuthnot, and nothing decided was accomplished on either side. Washington encamped below Tappan, where he remained until the winter. On the 21st of September, he held an interview at Hartford with the Count de Rochambeau, the army being left under the command of General Greene. It was during Washington's absence on this visit, that the treason of Arnold was attempted and discovered. Towards the close of November, the American army went into winter quarters, headquarters being at New Windsor, the New England troops in the Highlands, the New Jersey regiments at Pompton, the Pennsylvania line near Morristown, and the French army at Newport. Previously to this, however, General Greene had been sent to command in the south, upon the defeat of Gates at Camden. Lord Cornwallis had overrun the Carolinas, and preparations were making in New York to fall upon Virginia. The appointment of a successor to Gates being referred by Congress to Washington, he at once selected Greene.

The beginning of the year 1781 was marked by the revolt of the Pennsylvania and New Jersey troops, at Morristown, Chatham, and Pompton; the particulars of which need not be recorded here. When military operations were resumed, it was obvious that the attention of the British commander was directed chiefly to the south. A number of armed vessels, with sixteen hundred men, under the command of Arnold, were sent into the Chesapeake, to act against Virginia. Arnold burnt Richmond, and committed many outrages. About the middle of January, the British fleet at New York was seriously damaged and distressed by a storm; and the blockade being relieved, M. Destouches, who, upon the death of De Ternay, had succeeded to the command of the fleet, despatched De Tilly, with a ship of the line and two frigates, to the Chesapeake, to blockade Arnold's squadron, and co-ope-

rate with the American force on land; and, at the same time, Washington despatched twelve hundred men, under Lafayette, to aid in the enterprise against Arnold. De Tilly returned, after a very partial success; and a second expedition of the French fleet to the Chesapeake returned without entering that bay, which was soon after occupied by the English fleet; and as Lafayette's expedition had reference chiefly to a combined action with the French vessels, he returned to the head of Elk, but there received further orders from Washington to proceed to the south, either to meet the enemy in Virginia, or to effect a junction with General Greene and the southern army. Meanwhile, by the advice of Lord Cornwallis, who desired to transfer the seat of war to the Chesapeake, Sir Henry Clinton sent from New York another detachment of two thousand men, under General Phillips, to co-operate with Arnold, who, it was expected, would be joined by Cornwallis from the south. The latter did soon after advance from North Carolina, and, acting with the other detachments, overran the lower counties of Virginia. Lafayette, entitled by seniority of rank to the command of all the force in Virginia, displayed great skill and judgment in operating against this able and experienced British general.

Meanwhile, the Count de Barras arrived in a French frigate, at Boston, with intelligence that a fleet, under Count de Grasse, would sail from the West Indies to the United States, in July or August. An interview between Washington and Rochambeau took place at Weathersfield, Connecticut, on the 22d of May, 1781, at which an attack upon New York, by the combined armies, to be aided by De Grasse's fleet, expected to be at Sandy Hook, was arranged. In the beginning of July, the American and French armies, under Washington and Rochambeau, took post near Dobbs's Ferry; the enemy's works were reconnoitred, and preparations made for a general attack.

Various causes of delay intervened, and the army continued in its encampment above six weeks. On the 14th of August, General Washington received a letter from the Count de Grasse, then at St. Domingo, informing him that he was about to sail with his whole fleet, and more than three thousand land troops, for the Chesapeake; but that his engagements in the West Indies were such that he could not remain longer than till the middle of October. This intelligence produced an entire change in Washington's plans; and it was resolved to move both the armies immediately to the south. Washington and Rochambeau preceded the troops, and reached Lafayette's headquarters, at Williamsburg, on the 14th of September. The army at the Hudson was left under the command of General Heath; and the troops in motion for the south were commanded by General Lincoln. They crossed the Hudson at King's Ferry, marched through Trenton and Philadelphia to the head of the Elk, and were conveyed thence in transports to Virginia.

Various devices had been employed to mislead Sir Henry Clinton as to the destination of these troops; and being ignorant of the intended expedition of De Grasse, he did not discover the movement to the south until a considerable part of the route had been accomplished. De Grasse, with his whole fleet of twenty-six ships of the line, and several frigates, entered the Chesapeake after a short engagement with Admiral Graves off the capes; Count de Barras arrived with the French squadron from Newport; three thousand men from the West Indies, under the Marquis de St. Simon, landed and united with Lafayette; and the fate of Lord Cornwallis's army was sealed. The latter, expecting that the British fleet in the Chesapeake would be superior to the French, had taken possession of Yorktown and Gloucester Point, at the junction of the York and James rivers. Washington and Rochambeau had an interview with De Grasse on board the ship Ville de Paris,

and the arrangements for the campaign were settled. The legion of the Duc de Lauzuan, and a brigade of Virginia militia under General Weedon, the whole commanded by the French brigadier-general, De Choisé, observed the enemy at Gloucester; and on the 28th September, 1781, the combined armies moved down from Williamsburg, and on the 30th the outer lines were abandoned by Cornwallis, and occupied by the besiegers, and the investment of the place was completed. The siege was pressed forward with great energy and spirit. On the 6th of October parallels were opened within six hundred yards of the British lines; and in a few days several batteries were established, which opened a heavy fire on the town. On the 14th, two redoubts, three hundred yards in advance of the British works, were stormed, one by an American detachment under Lafayette, of which the advanced corps was led with great bravery by Colonel Hamilton, and the other by a French detachment commanded by the Baron Viomenil. In the course of the next day some howitzers were placed in the redoubts, and opened with great effect on the besieged. On the 16th a sortie, under Lieutenant-Colonel Abercrombie, against two batteries which were nearly completed by the Americans, was made with great impetuosity; the batteries were carried by the British in the first instance, but the guards advancing from the breaches, they were soon abandoned. On the same night Lord Cornwallis formed the desperate resolution of attempting to escape to New York, and boats were collected to convey the men to the Gloucester shore to attack De Choisé. A detachment passed over about ten o'clock that evening and landed; but a violent storm which arose at that time and raged all night, prevented the passage of the rest, and carried the boats down the river. The troops which had passed were brought back on the following morning. On the 17th several fresh batteries were opened on the second parallel, and so deadly a fire poured in from

every side, that further resistance would not have been justified. About ten o'clock in the morning a parley was beat by Lord Cornwallis, and a cessation of hostilities for twenty-four hours proposed, that commissioners might meet and settle the terms of the surrender of the posts of York and Gloucester. General Washington in reply desired that Lord Cornwallis would submit an outline of the conditions upon which he proposed to surrender, and for that purpose granted a cessation of hostilities. The substance of the answer, though not in all respects admissible, was such as to form a satisfactory basis of arrangements, and a suspension of arms until night was conceded; and in the mean time a draft of such articles as he would be willing to agree to was sent by General Washington. On the 18th commissioners met to digest these articles into form; but some delay occurring, General Washington, determined to permit no suspense on the part of Lord Cornwallis, early on the 19th directed his rough draft of articles to be copied, and sent it to the British general, stating in a letter his expectation that they would be signed by eleven o'clock, and that the army would march out by two in the afternoon. Finding that no better terms could be obtained, the whole of both garrisons, and the posts of York and Gloucester, with the ships and seamen in the harbour, were surrendered; the latter to the Count de Grasse, and the others to General Washington. The number of prisoners of war, excluding seamen, was a little more than seven thousand; five hundred and fifty had been killed during the siege. The allied army, which, including militia, amounted to sixteen thousand men, lost about three hundred killed and wounded. The success of this siege was due to the rapidity with which it was determined upon, begun, and pushed forward. On the very day on which the capitulation was signed, an armament of seven thousand of the best troops in New York was despatched by Sir Henry

Clinton with a fleet of twenty-five ships of the line, for the Chesapeake. It arrived off the Virginia capes on the 24th of October, and there received intelligence of the surrender. The Count de Grasse being obliged to return to the West Indies, could give no further aid than to transport the troops and ordnance to the head of the Elk, which was done in the beginning of November. The commander-in-chief left Yorktown on the 5th of November and returned to Philadelphia.

About the middle of April, 1782, Washington left Philadelphia, and established his headquarters with the army at Newburg. Early in May, Sir Guy Carleton arrived in New York and superseded Sir Henry Clinton as commander-in-chief of the British forces in America; and in the beginning of August he announced that negotiations for a general peace had been begun at Paris, and that the independence of the United States would be one of the preliminary concessions. Towards the end of December, the French army, which had remained at Yorktown until September of this year, when they moved up to the Hudson, embarked at Boston to return home. During the winter of 1782–3 occurred the difficulties at Newburg, on the part of the army, which illustrate the character of Washington in its most genuine greatness, but which it does not comport with the nature of this narrative to state in detail. In the spring, intelligence arrived that a preliminary treaty of peace had been signed at Paris, and an official communication of the fact, and of the cessation of hostilities having been received soon after from Sir Guy Carleton, proclamation of these circumstances was made to the American army, on the 19th of April, 1783, just eight years from the day on which the contest was opened by the affair at Lexington. On the 18th of October the army was disbanded by proclamation from Congress, discharging them from further service. On the 25th of November the British army evacuated New York, and the

American troops which were still in the service entered the city, General Washington and Governor Clinton riding at the head of the procession. On the 4th of December Washington took leave of the army at New York, and on the 23d of the same month resigned his commission to Congress, then at Annapolis, and retired on the same day to Mount Vernon.

The political services which Washington rendered to the country and to mankind, after this period, were not less, or less exacting, than those which were concluded by the termination of his military career. But it is beyond the scope of the present work to enter upon that subject; and a brief recapitulation of the dates of the principal events of his remaining life, will close this slight sketch. He was appointed a member, and afterwards chosen president, of the convention which met at Philadelphia, on the second Monday in May, 1787, to revise and remodel the government of the Union. The constitution, the result of the deliberations of this body, was signed September 17th, 1787, and subsequently ratified by the adequate number of states. In April, 1789, he was chosen the first President of the United States, and immediately entered on the duties of that office; on the 4th of March, 1793, he entered on the second period of his official tenure; on the 15th of September, 1796, about six months before the expiration of that term of duty, he published his farewell address; and, in March following, he took a final leave of political life. On the 2d of July, 1798, when an open rupture with France was believed to have become inevitable, he was nominated commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States, and was unanimously confirmed by the senate on the following day. He immediately entered on the duties of this appointment, and engaged with great devotion in the establishment of an army. But the close of his career was nigh. On the 12th of December, he took cold from exposure on his farm, grew rapidly worse,

and expired, at Mount Vernon, on Saturday evening, December 14th, 1799.

In military subjects, the abilities of Washington were, unquestionably, of a high order, and they were various and complete. In their character, they were fitted to the circumstances and the time in which he was called upon to act. The wisdom of his system was vindicated, sometimes in the success of his counsels, and sometimes in the disasters of those who departed from them. The peculiar nature of the contest—the slight and frail military establishment over which he presided—the infinite political and social difficulties with which his operations were complicated, rendered a profound caution the first dictate of policy. The object to be accomplished was, in effect, a revolution of opinions—a change of national relations. Until that was realized, the revolutionary war could not be at an end. The most brilliant victory in the field would not have gained the purpose of the Americans; a single complete defeat would probably have frustrated it for ever. It must be remembered that Washington was in a situation in which time was his most important auxiliary; the war was in its nature a prolonged one; and, to maintain a military resistance, which should be always respectable in its force, and occasionally formidable in its operations, was all that a wise mind could have proposed to itself. The plan of the campaign which preceded the loss of New York, cannot, in a military point of view, be considered as judicious; but, as Napoleon observed with regard to his delay at Moscow, it was more important at that time to act upon political than upon military considerations. The operations in New Jersey, in 1776-7, exhibit the highest range of military science. The movements of Washington, from the moment when Fort Lee was abandoned, and he extricated himself by a series of prompt retreats from the dangers into which he was thrown by the advance of Lord Cornwallis, till, at the opportune moment,

he fell upon the enemy, in their divided state along the Delaware, and, soon after, struck a part of Lord Cornwallis's army at Princeton, and delivered himself from the peril of the other part—the whole campaign of that month—may be set beside any campaign that is recorded in history. The promptness with which the plan against Cornwallis, at Yorktown, was conceived, and the energy with which it was executed, entitle the commander-in-chief to the highest commendation.

In moral qualities, the character of Washington is the most truly dignified that was ever presented to the respect and admiration of mankind. He was one of the few entirely good men in whom goodness had no touch of weakness. He was one of the few rigorously just men whose justice was not commingled with any of the severity of personal temper. The elevation, and strength, and greatness of his feelings were derived from nature; their moderation was the effect of reflection and discipline. His temper, by nature, was ardent, and inclined to action. His passions were quick, and capable of an intensity of motion, which, when it was kindled by either intellectual or moral indignation, amounted almost to fury. But how rarely—how less than rarely—was any thing of this kind exhibited in his public career! How restrained from all excess which reason could reprove, or virtue condemn, or good taste reject, were these earnest impulses, in the accommodation of his nature to "that great line of duty" which he had set up as the course of his life. Seen in his public duties, his attitude and character—the one elevated above familiarity, the other purged of all littlenesses—present a position and an image almost purely sublime.

> No airy and light passion stirs abroad
> To ruffle or to soothe him; all are quelled
> Beneath a mightier, sterner stress of mind:
> Wakeful he sits, and lonely, and unmoved,
> Beyond the arrows, views, or shouts of men;

As oftentimes an eagle, when the sun
Throws o'er the varying earth his early ray,
Stands solitary, stands immovable
Upon some highest cliff, and rolls his eye,
Clear, constant, unobservant, unabased,
In the cold light, above the dews of morn.

But when viewed in the gentler scenes of domestic and friendly relation, there are traits which give loveliness to dignity, and add grace to veneration; like the leaves and twigs which cluster around the trunk and huge branches of the colossal elm, making that beautiful which else were only grand. His sentiments were quick and delicate; his refinement exquisite. His temper was as remote from plebeian, as his principles were opposite to democratic. If his public bearing had something of the solemnity of puritanism, the sources of his social nature were the spirit and maxims of a cavalier. His demeanour towards all men illustrated, in every condition, that "finest sense of justice which the mind can form." IN ALL THINGS ADMIRABLE, IN ALL THINGS TO BE IMITATED; IN SOME THINGS SCARCE IMITABLE AND ONLY TO BE ADMIRED.

MAJ. GEN. N. GREENE.

Nath Greene

MAJOR-GENERAL NATHANIEL GREENE.

It was one of the fortunate results of the American Revolution—apart from those great national and human interests, which its successful prosecution was calculated to promote—that it furnished the proper occasion for those exhibitions of individual greatness and endowments, which might otherwise have "died and made no sign." If it was a time which was particularly calculated to try the souls of men, it was also a period calculated to bring forth souls worthy of, and competent to, every trial. Of this class was the subject of this memoir.

Nathaniel Greene was born at Warwick, in the then colony (now state) of Rhode Island, on the 27th of May, 1742. He was the second of six sons by a second marriage. His ancestors were of good English extraction, and were among the first settlers on the banks of the Providence, under the charter of Charles II. His mother died while he was yet young. His father was a Quaker preacher, and a very strict one. His pecuniary resources were slender, and young Greene, in turn with all his brethren, was kept at the plough and anvil, in very constant exercise. The education accorded him was small, but the boy had natural gifts which demanded knowledge. He found his way to books without the knowledge of his Quaker sire; and, at an early period in his career, made the acquaintance of Dr. Styles and Lindley Murray. From these persons his mind took something of its direction, and found some of its advantages. A youth named Giles, whom he accidentally encountered, and who had enjoyed a college education, shared with him a portion of his intellectual possessions. He dipped slightly into the springs

of Horace, and contrived to make forced marches with Cæsar. These, it is supposed, that he knew better through an English medium, than at the original sources. In mathematics he was more thoroughly at home. He seems to have taken to Euclid *con amore*. He worked his problems over the forge, and found them quite as malleable as he did his iron. They were of more importance to his future career than all the odes of Horace. But he did not confine himself to the geometer. The logic of Watts, the wit and sagacity of Swift, and the metaphysics of Locke, proved equally acceptable to his understanding. His little library, furnished by the proceeds of his labours at the forge, underwent frequent additions; and, at the opening of the great conflict with the mother country, he was prepared to take an active part in the political discussions of the time and neighbourhood.

But, with all this love of books and study, young Greene possessed other tastes and propensities which were scarcely so agreeable to the old man, his sire. His frame was one of great vigour and elasticity, and his temperament shared largely of the general characteristics of his frame. He loved field sports, and society. Rural games were always attractive to his spirit, and he had a most unquakerlike relish for dancing, which he kept as long as possible from the knowledge of his father. But such a secret it is not possible always to conceal; and, at length discovered, and anticipating the horsewhip at the hands of the sober Quaker sire, our hero betrayed an admirable readiness at military resource, in guarding against the danger, by lining his jackets with strips of shingle, which effectually screened his epidermis from the severity of the blows.

His love of amusement did not retard his progress. It did not enfeeble his character. Of the strength of his resolution he gave an admirable proof, while yet a boy, in causing himself to be inoculated for the small-pox, at a time when the fears and prejudices of the whole country

were opposed to the experiment. He passed safely through all the stages of this terrible disorder, his courage and calm decision, in all probability, contributing greatly to his escape. At the age of twenty, with a mind at once bold and judicious, with habits simple almost to severity, an understanding tolerably informed by books, a frame vigorous and well developed, a spirit eager and energetic, he began to take an interest in the new field of national politics. He had picked up a little law through the help of Blackstone and Jacobs' Law Dictionary, and the circuit court at a neighbouring village yielded him an occasional opportunity of mingling with lawyers, and listening to their disputations. He did not listen with indifferent senses. It was here that he gathered some of those first lessons which subsequently prepared him for the councils of the nation.

The passage of the Stamp Act decided his choice of party. In 1770, he was elected to the General Assembly of the colony, where, though always speaking briefly, it was always to the point. As the controversy between the mother country and the colonies increased in heat, he gradually directed his attention to military studies. Turenne's Memoirs, Cæsar's Commentaries, Sharpe's Military Guide, and Plutarch, became his companions; and it was not long before the youth who, when a boy, had made himself a corselet of shingle to defend himself from the heavy blows of a Quaker father, put himself in iron armour to encounter those of a much more tyrannous parent. But, before this was done, and as if still more to enhance the merits of his patriotism, by increasing his sacrifices and responsibilities, he took to wife a damsel of the name of Littlefield, and, for a brief season, gave himself up to the sweet enjoyments of domestic life. But this was for a season only. His marriage took place in July, 1774. In the spring following he was on his way to Lexington, where the first blood had been spilled upon the altar of American liberty.

This conflict called upon the colonies to exhibit all their energies. Rhode Island nobly responded to the summons of her suffering sister. Sixteen hundred men were promptly voted as an army of observation, and our young Quaker was intrusted with its command, with the rank of major-general.

His people had thus shown themselves not insensible to his merits. But the distinction gave no pleasure to the father of our hero. The military propensities of young Greene had already brought down upon him the censure of the sect. He had shown an offensive lack of sympathy with their doctrines of non-resistance. They had addressed themselves to the task of bringing him back to a more pacific philosophy, but had failed. The work of remonstrance was forborné, after a patient struggle to convince him of the error of his ways; and, finding him inflexible in his principles and purpose, he was formally expelled from the society. It was in May, 1775, that Greene assumed his command of the troops of Rhode Island. He was now thirty-three years of age, in the prime of manhood, with a face pleasing and full of power, and a figure distinguished by command and dignity. His complexion, naturally florid, was somewhat darkened by exposure; his features were full of decision; his eyes blue, and remarkable for vivacity and fire; and a face, the expression of which was usually thoughtful and benevolent, was yet possessed of such a flexibility of muscle as readily to express the varying emotions of his mind. In other words, the countenance was that of an ingenuous and sanguine temperament,—a frank heart and fearless spirit.

Greene entered with proper ardour upon the prosecution of his duties, and what was wanting to his early training was soon supplied by his industry and genius. He soon showed himself to be a soldier. His drill was vigilantly urged, his discipline was worthy of a veteran. The battle of Bunker Hill drew his command to Cambridge. Here

he gained the confidence and esteem of Washington which he retained through life. Washington's quick eye soon discovered the superior qualifications of Greene; the latter had long been the profound admirer of the great Virginian, whose career and conduct before and at the defeat of Braddock, had greatly interested his affections and his thoughts. The American army, placed on the continental establishment, reduced Greene from the rank of major-general to that of brigadier. To this he cheerfully submitted. The service now was one of patient drudgery. The war languished, and, in the absence of actual conflict, the troops suffered from inactivity and cold. Boston was at length evacuated by the British, Washington drew his forces towards New York, and—no bad proof of his progress in public confidence—Greene was selected to command on Long Island, which, it was momentarily expected, was to abide the assaults of the enemy. He made his preparations to receive them with becoming civilities. Establishing his headquarters at Brooklyn, he commenced the study of the ground which might probably become the field of conflict. The roads and woods were explored, the passes and the pathways examined and guarded,-the more accessible points were fortified, and every precaution was adopted which military prudence could suggest, as important to safety and success. In the midst of these employments, Greene was seized with bilious fever, which brought him to the verge of the grave. While he still lay prostrate and incapable, having barely escaped in a protracted issue between life and death, he heard the booming of the enemy's cannon. Unable to partake the peril, or attempt the prize, he lay agonized with doubt and mortification. Bitter were the tears which he shed at those reverses of the American arms, which, it was commonly thought, were due mostly to his absence from the field.

As soon as he could take the saddle he was at his post.

Meanwhile, his merits were acknowledged by Congress in his promotion to the rank of major-general. The fate of New York was now in question. It was resolved to hold it as long as possible—to evacuate only when forced to do so. A brilliant stand was made at Haarlem; here Greene enjoyed his first regular battle. He fought bravely, and justified the confidence of his admirers. A portion of the British forces was stationed at Staten Island, whence they threatened the Jerseys and the American line of retreat. He was detached to watch their movements. His head-quarters were at Bergen, or Fort Lee, according to circumstances. Fort Washington, feebly defended, was taken by the British, who, encouraged by their successes, pushed forward against Fort Lee with a strong force under Cornwallis. His object was to cut off the retreat of the garrison towards the Hackensack. By dint of immense exertions Greene succeeded in throwing himself across the path of the enemy. Here, at the head of the stream, he contrived to keep them at bay until Washington came up. Yielding the command to his superior, he hurried back to the fort, and withdrew the garrison in safety across the Hackensack. He was destined to thwart, in subsequent trials of strength, by similarly brilliant manœuvres, the designs of the famous British captain to whom he was opposed.

The memorable retreat of the Americans through the Jerseys followed this event. In all this retrograde progress, Greene was the companion of Washington. He must be permitted to share with him the glory, as he endured with him all the trials and mortifications of that Fabian warfare of which both were the acknowledged masters. On the night of the 26th December, 1776, Greene crossed the Delaware in command of the left wing of the army, which in the surprise of Trenton, seized the artillery of the enemy and cut off their retreat to Princeton. He assisted in planning this brilliant movement, commanded the

division with which Washington marched in person; and was one of the few to counsel as bold a warfare against all the other British posts in New Jersey.

The winter of 1777 found the headquarters of the American army at Morristown, New Jersey. Greene had command of a separate division at Baskingridge. A war of skirmishes, by which the Americans mostly profited, was maintained throughout the winter. But the preparations were slowly made for the reorganization of the army, and the opening of the next campaign. To hasten the action of Congress in regard to these vital subjects, Greene was despatched to Philadelphia. No one had so perfectly the confidence of Washington; no one was so intimate with his plans and objects; no one was better able to succeed in influencing the decision of the difficult body with which he had to deal. Returned from this mission, he was sent with General Knox to examine and report upon the passes of the Highlands of the Hudson, and take measures for fortifying and defending them. With the opening of spring the camp of Washington was broken up at Morristown, and a stronger position was taken at Middlebrook. To draw him from this position and bring on a general engagement was the object of the British general. In the many manœuvres for the attainment of this object, Greene, at the head of a strong detachment, having orders to hang upon the British rear, made a combined movement with General Maxwell, to cut off the rear guard. The desertion or the capture of an express to whom a portion of the plan was confided, defeated their scheme, which had otherwise been entirely successful. As it was, the prey had a narrow escape. The pursuit was kept up as far as Piscataway, and, in its prosecution, the troops, under the immediate lead of Morgan and Wayne, made the most intrepid demonstrations upon an enemy secured by redoubts and in superior numbers. The British general, failing in his objects, retreated to Staten Island, where, after a course of

manœuvres which left his real purposes for some time in doubt, he embarked with his forces for the Chesapeake.

This led Washington to a concentration of all his strength with the view to meeting them. Departing from his usual policy, he was resolved to try the chances of battle. Greene was sent forward to reconnoitre and choose a place for encampment. This he did within six miles of the post taken by the British. A council of war, anticipating his report, had chosen another spot for the encampment, to which his opinion was adverse. His judgment was sustained by the result. The advance of the British compelled the Americans to retire. A few skirmishes only followed, and on the 10th of September, the latter planted their standards on the banks of the Brandywine. Early next morning the enemy advanced to the attack. The passage of the ford, where lay the chief strength of the American force, was stubbornly resisted; but, in the mean while, a strong detachment, led by Howe and Cornwallis, making a circuitous march, had crossed the river, and were rapidly gaining the American rear. Washington had foreseen the possibility of the event, but, deceived by conflicting intelligence, forbore the policy which prompted an attack upon that portion of the enemy's force which had been left upon the right bank of the river. He now recalled the detachment which had crossed, and when the fire was heard upon the right, rapidly hastened in that quarter, leaving Greene with two brigades so posted as to enable him to turn his arms upon that point where they might seem to be most necessary. The policy of this disposition of his troops soon asserted itself. It was, at the moment when all was confusion in the American line—when the ranks were broken, and the fugitives darting off in flight and fear on every side, that Greene, with his fresh brigades, threw himself between them and the exulting enemy, who pressed forward, shouting, as with a triumph already sure. A sharp and well directed fire from his field pieces arrested

their advance. Opening his ranks to the fugitives, he covered them with his closing wings, and, in this manner, reduced to order that retreat which before had been mere flight and panic. Reaching a narrow defile which commended itself to the military eye, as a proper place for a second trial of strength, he halted and drew up his men for battle. Flushed with victory, the British rushed headlong to the strife, and were made to recoil under the close and well-directed fire which sent death throughout their ranks. The position which Greene had taken was not to be turned. Repeated attempts of the enemy proved that it was not to be forced. The struggle lasted till night closed upon the combatants, when the British failing to overcome the stubbornness of their foes, and exhausted with the fatigues of the day, drew off, and left our hero to retire, with equal honour and composure, from the ground which he had maintained with such a noble firmness.

Howe, the British general, was not disposed to let the Americans escape. Advancing upon Goshen, he was once more within striking distance of the camp of Washington, who directed Sullivan, as senior major-general, to draw up the troops for action. The ground chosen by Sullivan was of such a nature that, in the event of defeat, retreat would be impossible. The quick eye of Greene detected the error at a glance, drew the notice of Washington upon it, and a new position was taken. A violent storm coming on prevented the engagement, and the Americans moved towards Reading while the British continued their advance. Washington vainly endeavoured to baffle or retard their progress. Howe's manœuvres and superior resources enabled him, in spite of opposition, to make his way to Philadelphia, which he at length entered as a conqueror..

But the Americans were not without their successes, and the gain of Philadelphia did not contribute to the security of the invader. Washington determined upon a daring enterprise, by which to compensate himself for its loss. The

main body of the British were quartered at Germantown, within six miles of Philadelphia. Another force was within the city, and other bodies were sent in other directions. To attempt these in detail was the obvious policy of the American general. He turned his columns upon the force stationed at Germantown. His left wing was confided to Greene, who was ordered to attack the British right. The right of the Americans, led by Sullivan, was accompanied by Washington in person, who advanced against the enemy's left and centre. It was at the break of day on the 4th October, that Greene, with his own brigade, supported by those of Stephens and McDougall, moved to the attack. A heavy fog overspread the scene. Objects were invisible at fifty yards. The army made its way slowly and with difficulty towards the foe. The right of the Americans was the first in action. Their cannonade apprized Greene of their progress, and stimulated the enthusiasm of his men, who rushed into the embrace of battle with a shout. The fog still lay densely over the field; the darkness increased by the volumes of smoke that now rolled upward from the guns. The flash of fire from the foe, as it gleamed suddenly like a stream of lightning from the cloud, was the only mark, by which to guide the answering fires of the American marksmen. But this was enough. They answered with effect, and, rushing forward, pressed their way into the village, at the point of the bayonet. The cloud lifted at this moment, and afforded the first clear glimpses of the field of battle. But the success of the Americans was not complete. Sullivan had made a brilliant swoop, had carried all before him for a moment, but had finally been forced back from his prey. His men were in confusion, and flying from the field. The division of Stephens, successful also in the first instance, in the midst of a charge, suddenly recoiled in unwonted panic which their leaders strove vainly to allay. This misfortune was probably due to the fog, and to the confusion caused by an accidental

entanglement of the latter with the left of Sullivan's division. It was such a misfortune as might defeat the efforts to recover, of the most experienced soldiers. It was one from which the raw troops of the American general could not well extricate themselves. To prevent a worse disaster, it was necessary to draw them off with as much coolness and promptitude as possible. This was no easy task, particularly when, in addition to the force of the enemy which had been assailed, the retreat was to be conducted in the face of a fresh body of troops, under Cornwallis, which the first sounds of battle had brought from Philadelphia. Greene conducted the retrograde movement, under the continued and persevering pressure of the foe. The conflict was unremitted for nearly five miles, and was closed at last by a succession of warm volleys, which compelled the British to forego pursuit. The day had been one of reverses and disappointment, but it sufficed to prove the generalship of Greene. The Americans had been unfortunate, but if they had not gained the victory, they had won experience and other lessons of strength, which were to insure them future victories.

The forts on the Delaware were now threatened by the enemy. Cornwallis was advancing against Fort Mercer. Greene was sent forward to encounter him. He was to effect a junction with another body of troops; but, before this could be done, the British general was reinforced. But this accession of strength on the one hand, and the lack of it on the other, did not encourage the former to persevere in his attempts. To what his forbearance is to be ascribed may not be said. The aspect of Greene's command, his proximity and position, in all probability discouraged the British general from any thing involving peculiar hazard. He recrossed the river without employing his advantages, and Greene returned to Washington. The American army now went into winter quarters at Valley Forge, and the active operations against the enemy

ceased with this event. But this cessation of arms did not imply repose in the American camp. It was during this memorable winter, that the intrigues commonly known as the cabal of Conway, designed for the overthrow of Washington, first found their public expression. Greene shared, as a matter of course, in those calumnies which assailed his friend. He was honourably distinguished by his great intimacy with the commander-in-chief, and, did he lack all other means of distinction, it would be the sufficient boast of his monument to bear the inscription, "He was the friend of Washington!" The conspiracy, as we know, failed utterly of its object; but it was not without its baneful and mortifying influence upon the character and feelings of those whom it assailed. We may destroy the viper, but, though his venom may fail to poison, it will still rankle, and his slaver will always be sure to offend. Greene was among those who were destined to suffer for years from prejudices and a wretched hostility which this cabal had engendered. The winter at the log huts of Valley Forge was not one of repose and quiet. In addition to the persecutions of the malignant, were the extreme cares of the army. Its organization, particularly in the departments of the commissary and quartermaster-general, were sadly defective. To the cool judgment, the quick eye, the sagacity and providence of Greene, the commander-in-chief turned to remedy their deficiencies. At his urgent entreaties and "those of Congress," he consented to undertake the duties of this laborious office. Slow to accept, he was quick to perform, the duty being once undertaken. He repaired the evils of the system. He brought order out of chaos—restored harmony, soothed discord, and found means, where his predecessor seemed only to have prayed for them.

The British having evacuated Philadelphia, the Americans crossed to the eastern branch of the Delaware. Clinton's march was evidently to be taken through the

Jerseys. Six of the American brigades were put forward to retard his motions; and an American council of war was assembled to consult upon the expediency of seeking battle. Lee and a majority of the officers opposed this design. Greene counselled it with all his might, and Washington concurred with Greene. He exercised a right which Congress had conferred upon him, and determined upon fighting on his own responsibility, against the opinions of the majority. This decision led to the battle of Monmouth. Lee, sent forward to bring on the action, was found in full retreat, as Greene, at the head of the right wing, approached the enemy. His orders to gain the British rear were rendered useless by this event. He promptly decided upon a different measure, and, taking a strong position on the enemy's left, drew their column upon him. Their assault was met with admirable firmness and vigour. Greene's artillery was well served, and his infantry plied their small arms with a rapidity and accuracy which soon thinned the advancing files of the assailants. Their line was driven back in confusion and with great loss; and, secure in his position, Greene was at liberty to use his artillery in enfilading that body of the British troops which was opposed to the American left. The advance of Wayne with a strong force of infantry, finished the combat. The enemy was driven from the field at the point of the bayonet. Greene's toils, as quartermaster-general, were not over with the conflict. Help for the wounded, food for the more fortunate who escaped from hurt, were to be provided, before he could wrap himself in his cloak and snatch, at the foot of a tree, the repose of a few hours, rendered absolutely necessary by the incessant toils and fatigues of four-and-twenty hours of fight and exercise.

The British retreated in the night. With the dawn, the Americans resumed their march towards the north. A French fleet had reached the coast. A combined attack of the Americans and their allies was designed against the

British forces in Rhode Island. Lafayette was ordered to Providence with one detachment, and Greene soon followed him with another. The whole was confided to Sullivan. Preparations were made for an assault upon Newport. Greene with one division took up his quarters upon the high grounds of Tiverton. On the 8th August, the French fleet forced its passage into Narragansett bay, under a heavy fire from the English batteries. The morning of the 10th was selected for the attack on Newport. The British general abandoned his outposts and concentrated his forces within his lines. All things promised success to the assault, but the appearance of a British fleet, at the mouth of the harbour, beguiled D'Estaing with the French fleet from it. He left a certain for an uncertain triumph. The Americans, left to themselves, were not in force to attempt assault. A siege was resolved upon. This design was arrested by a storm which lasted for three days and nights, and which ravaged the face of the country, destroying army equipments, ammunition, and, in numerous instances, human life. The return of D'Estaing completed the misfortunes of the Americans. He too had suffered from the hurricane. His ships were shattered—his resources diminished—his officers discontented, and his troops dispirited. He could do nothing. It was in vain that the American officers protested against his determination. The enterprise was abandoned. The American forces were drawn off in the night, Greene covering the retreat. With their disappearance, the enemy's force was set in motion. By three o'clock in the morning, the former had reached their redoubts at the end of the island, and at seven the British were upon them. Greene, believing that they had pursued in detachments, counselled that they should be met boldly; but his opinions were overruled. The troops were kept on the defensive. Sharp was the skirmishing that followed. From adjacent eminences the American redoubts were cannonaded. An

attempt was made to turn their right under cover of several vessels of war; and, for a while, the whole pressure of the British was upon this wing of the army. It was strengthened accordingly. Greene was here in person. His coolness and judgment were conspicuous. He was fighting in the very eye of his homestead. He was ministering to freedom at the family altars. The enemy were repulsed after a terrible struggle. They were driven off with great slaughter. The cannonade was renewed next day, but with no effect, and no farther attempt was made to impede the retreat of the Americans. They crossed over to the main that night, without loss or interruption.

Greene had now held the office of quartermaster-general for two years. It was an onerous and unthankful one. A discussion in Congress, as to his mode of administering it, and the mutilation of all the valuable features of a scheme which he had devised for its better organization, afforded him an opportunity of resigning, of which he promptly availed himself. His letter to this effect gave great offence, but his merits saved him from his enemies. The army and the country knew his value, though a party in Congress still angrily denied it. The events of the war silenced the controversy. Greene was at Springfield, N. J., with the Jersey militia, and two brigades of continentals, while Washington, watching the movements of Clinton, who threatened West Point, moved with the main army towards the north. While such was the position of the several opponents, Greene was advised of the landing of the enemy at Elizabethtown, and of his advance towards him, with a force fully trebling his own. Expresses were sent to the commander-in-chief, and, with all proper precautions taken, Greene so disposed his little army, by extending his front, as to cover two of the bridges by which the enemy's approach could be made. Forced from this position, it was in his power to contract his wings, and retire to a strong position in the rear of the village. Lee,

supported by Ogden, was posted at Little's bridge, on the Vauxhall road; while that in front of the town was confided to Angell, whose command was strengthened by several small detachments, and provided with one piece of artillery. Their retreat was covered by the regiment of Shreve, which took post at the third bridge,—a short distance behind them. The remainder of the army, consisting of two brigades, occupied some higher grounds still farther in the rear. The flanks were guarded by the militia.

The action was begun by a sharp cannonade which lasted for two hours, the enemy manœuvring as if resolved to turn the American flanks. Their right, meanwhile, was advancing upon Lee, who disputed the passage so handsomely that, but for the fact that his position was commanded by a neighbouring hill, which the enemy, by crossing at a ford above, had succeeded in gaining, it would have been scarcely possible to dislodge him. While these events were in progress on the left, Angell, on the right, was engaged hotly with another body of assailants. His single fieldpiece and small force, did famous execution against four times their number, maintaining the conflict with undaunted valour for more than half an hour. They yielded only to superior numbers, and retired to the bridge in the rear, carrying off their wounded, and saving their artillery. The British pressed the pursuit, but were repulsed by Shreve. Greene now contracted his front, drew in his regiments, and retired slowly and safely to the strong position which he had chosen with reference to this emergency, among the hills in the rear of the village. From this point, commanding both roads, he effectually checked the pursuit. Here he awaited for the renewal of the conflict. But the stubborn defence which had been already made, discouraged the assailants. Clinton found it a more pleasant and less perilous employment to give Elizabethtown to the flames. The burning houses were

the signal to Greene to change his tactics. He descended from the hills, but the enemy was already in full retreat, and beyond the reach of the avengers.

An interval of anxiety followed, which was not action. The war languished. The sluggish nature of events, however, was suddenly broken by the treason of Arnold, and the arrest of André. Greene was called to preside over that court of inquiry to which the case of the British spy was confided. The world knows the decision of the court. Painful as was the duty before them, it was too obvious for evasion. André was convicted on his own confession. The fate of armies, the safety of states and nations demanded that he should be the sacrifice of that treachery in which he shared, and which he may have prompted. In all the proceedings connected with this affair, Greene approved himself equally the man and the warrior—at once true to humanity and duty—yielding his tears to the necessity which he was yet sternly commissioned to obey. The post which Arnold had abandoned, was confided to his keeping. He had, however, scarcely entered upon its duties, when he found himself appointed to the armies of the south.

Gates, the victor at Saratoga, had yielded his laurels to Cornwallis, at the fatal fight of Camden. The war needed a more prudent and not less courageous warrior. The *debris* of Gates' army awaited Greene at Charlotte, North Carolina. Here he found it, but it was a wreck indeed;—few in number, feeble in spirit, and wanting every thing necessary to proper performance. To examine into the nature of the country he designed to penetrate,—to ascertain the objects and resources of his enemy,—to find or make the resources essential to his own troops, and to discipline them for active and immediate service, required and received his instant attention. His people were dispirited; his enemy exulting in repeated conquest. To avoid precipitate conflict with the latter, without still farther de-

99

pressing the *morale* of the former, required the talents of superior generalship. Greene brought these to the work before him. It was fortunate that he was admirably sustained by his own officers, and the peculiar abilities of the partisan captains which the south furnished for co-operation with him. With Marion, Sumter, and Pickens, of the Carolina troops; and Morgan, Williams, Howard, Lee, and Carrington, of the regular service, he might well found his hopes upon a resource which would scarcely fail him, the material of war being still so greatly wanting. He soon entered the region of bloody debate and peril. A detachment, under Morgan, was sent across the Catawba, while Greene, with the main army, encamped upon the Pedee.

His presence and proceedings were very soon productive of the most admirable effects. His appearance in Carolina was hailed by results of the most encouraging character. Marion and Lee carried Georgetown by surprise, though they failed to hold it; and Morgan, after some small successes against the tories, met and defeated Tarleton, in the bloody and brilliant battle of the Cowpens. Greene soon appeared in the camp of Morgan, on the banks of the Catawba. Meanwhile, Cornwallis had destroyed his baggage, to facilitate his movements, and was preparing to cross the same river. His objects were unknown; but Greene endeavoured to anticipate them. He drew his army together, and hastened its march towards Salisbury. "There is great glory ahead," he writes, in one of his letters; "and I am not without hopes of ruining Lord Cornwallis, if he persists in his mad scheme of pushing through the country." The aim of the British general was not long doubtful. The waters of the Catawba, by which the two armies were separated, swollen by recent rains, now began to subside. The fords were practicable. Greene determined to dispute the passage with his militia, and to retard and harass the progress of the enemy, with

whom he was not yet sufficiently strong to engage in equal battle. Cornwallis effected the passage of the Catawba, in a rain storm, and under the American fire. A sharp conflict ensued. The British suffered severely; but the death of General Davidson, who commanded the militia, had the effect of dispiriting and dispersing them. Greene retreated upon Salisbury. On his route, an anecdote occurred, which admirably illustrates the uniform patriotism of the American women. Greene's despondency did not escape the eyes of the landlady, at whose house he stopped for repose and refreshment. He alighted from his horse, in rain and storm, through which he had ridden all the day. His garments were soaked and soiled,—his limbs were weary,—his heart was sad; and, when asked about his condition, he answered that he was "tired, hungry, and penniless." Scarcely had he procured refreshment, when the good woman drew him to a private apartment, and placed in his hands two bags of specie,—all her little hoard,—the treasure of years, and, possibly, all the earnings of her life. "Take these," said she; "I can do without them, and they are necessary to you."

Cornwallis urged the pursuit with vigour, sending General O'Hara forward to prevent the Americans from passing the Yadkin. But the providence of Greene, by which boats had been secured in advance, enabled them to effect the passage before the British appeared in sight. The whigs of Salisbury were bringing up the rear, when O'Hara's advance broke upon them. A sharp skirmish followed, in which both parties claimed the victory. But the Americans gained their object. They threw the river between them and their pursuers, without loss to themselves; baffled the efforts of O'Hara to seize upon their boats, and, in the delay thus caused to the pursuit, the Yadkin, swelled by successive rains beyond its bounds, effectually saved the Americans from farther annoyance. It was in vain that the British opened with a fierce cannonade upon

the camp of Greene. Their bullets tore the shingles from the roof of the cabin in which he sat, writing his despatches, but without disturbing his composure or injuring his person.

Cornwallis continued the pursuit, as soon as he could cross the river, in the hope of cutting off his adversary from the upper fords of the Dan. The manœuvres which followed from this chase have been justly considered among the most masterly that had been exhibited during the American war. Greene's great merit was that Fabian policy which had so frequently saved Washington. On the 10th of February, the two armies lay within twenty-five miles of each other. Nearly one month had been consumed in this protracted pursuit, and the eyes of the nation were drawn upon the rival armies. To crush his adversary without impediment, Cornwallis had destroyed his baggage. This showed a rare and stern resolution, at all hazards to effect his object. But one river lay between the British general and Virginia. This crossed, and the south must be detached from the confederacy, certainly for the time, possibly for ever. Greene felt the vast importance of the trust; and his genius rose with its pressure, and proved equal to its exigencies. We cannot pursue these beautiful details of progress, as exquisitely nice and as admirably calculated as any work of art, by which a series of the most masterly manœuvres, and occasional skirmishes of great spirit, placed the Americans in safety on the northern banks of the Dan, and finished this remarkable retreat and pursuit. "Your retreat," said Washington, "is highly applauded by all ranks." Tarleton, an enemy, writes—"Every measure of the Americans, during their march from the Catawba to Virginia, was judiciously designed, and vigorously executed." And the retreat, thus made in the immediate presence of a far superior foe, was made by troops many of whom had never seen battle,—raw militia, in fact,—without adequate cloth-

ing, without supplies, in the depth of winter, and under inclement skies. The genius of their commander supplied deficiencies, soothed discontent, encouraged hope, and converted a dispirited militia into confident and veteran soldiers.

Greene soon obtained supplies and reinforcements. Recrossing the Dan, it was now the turn of Cornwallis to retreat. Pickens advanced with a strong body of militia on the left flank of the enemy. Caswell, with a subsidy from the North Carolina militia, made a similar demonstration from the opposite direction. The two armies lay sullenly watching each other, when the British columns suddenly began their retreat from the banks of the Dan. Bodies of picked men from the American army followed his movements, at once to harass his progress, and ascertain his objects. These were doubtful. At one moment he seemed to threaten Pickens, at another the magazines on the Roanoke; but, suddenly turning his back upon the Dan, he moved towards Hillsborough, a region filled with loyalists, whence he issued his proclamation calling upon the faithful to repair to his standard. But the time had come when, as he himself expressed it, the friendly had grown timid, and the hostile inveterate. Greene watched and followed all his movements, determined to prevent his flight to the coast—a purpose which his proceedings seemed to indicate. The delay of a few days, he well knew, would be fatal to the British. The American partisans were closing around them. The army of Greene was receiving daily accessions; and several smart skirmishes, in which the British suffered great losses, had encouraged their adversaries with fresher hopes. Greene was not yet strong enough to give battle to Cornwallis; but circumstances made it necessary that he should keep the field, and exhibit equal boldness and activity. His light troops were continually employed in beating up the British quarters, harassing their

march, cutting off their supplies,—doing every thing, in short, but pitching their standards before them in the plain. It became the policy of Cornwallis to force him to retreat or fight. A war of manœuvre followed, which our limits will not permit us to describe. The result of this struggle, at length, brought Greene to Guilford Court-House within fourteen miles of the British position. A battle was now nearly inevitable, and, yielding somewhat to popular opinion, Greene was prepared to wait for it, if not to seek it. It was on the 15th of March, 1781, that he drew up in order of battle. The ground was chosen with regard to the nature of the American troops. It was broken and irregular. The first line of Greene was drawn out on the skirts of a wood, and at right angles with the road, by which the enemy was approaching. It consisted of raw and untrained militia from North Carolina, who had never crossed arms with an enemy. But they were practised marksmen. They were commanded by Generals Butler and Eaton. The second line, arranged about three hundred yards behind the first, consisted of raw troops also, Virginians, led by Stevens and Lawson. Both of these lines extended across the road. About four hundred yards behind the second line, the continentals were placed under Huger and Williams. They presented, in conformity with the aspect of the ground they occupied, a double front,—two regiments of Virginia regulars, under Greene and Rudford, on the right, and the first and second Maryland on the left, under Gunby and Ford. A corps of observation, composed of the dragoons of the first and third regiments, Lynch's riflemen, and a detachment of light infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Washington, covered the right flank. Lee, with his legion, supported by detachments of light infantry and riflemen, increased the securities of the left, and both of these corps occupied the woods at the extremities of the first line. The artillery, with the exception of two pieces, under Cap-

tain Singleton, which were pushed forward, commanding the enemy's first approaches, was posted with the regulars on the hill, near the Court-House.

The van of the British army came under the fire of Singleton's pieces about one o'clock in the day. A brisk cannonade from the royal artillery answered them, until the British had formed their line of battle. They were ranged in a single line, and without a reserve. They advanced under cover of the smoke from their artillery, and the militia yielded to the charge of the bayonet, delivering a partial fire only. The enemy, pressing forward upon the second line, were suddenly checked by a sharp fire from the corps of Washington and Lee. To dislodge these was necessary to the British progress. Concentrating a sufficient force for this object, Cornwallis drove them slowly before them, suffering severely under their fire, and making his way only with the bayonet. The battle now began with double spirit. The Virginia militia met the tide of conflict manfully, undismayed by its torments, and the bad example of the North Carolinians. Their fire told with deadly effect upon the assailants, whom nothing saved but the flight of the first line of the Americans, and their own admirable discipline. The right wing of the Americans gradually yielded, but with ranks still unbroken. The British followed up their advantage with the bayonet, and the retreat of the wing, which still held together, became general throughout the line. Retreating to the third line, they took post on the right of the Marylanders. On the left, where the militia was supported by the corps of Lee and Campbell, the action still continued. The eye of Greene was cheered by the prospect, with all its disadvantages. By this time the whole of the British army, with the exception of its cavalry, had been brought into action. It had suffered to considerable degree, in all its divisions, from the American fire. The line was dismembered; some of its corps were scattered; and, with his third line

fresh, and as yet untouched, the American general had every reason to think that the victory was within his grasp. The veteran regiment of Gunby was the first to feel the British fire, as General Webster, with his division, flushed with the successes already won, advanced upon the third line of the Americans. Discipline met discipline. They were received by a steady blaze of fire, general and well-directed, under which they reeled, stunned and confounded, and before they could recover from the shock, the Americans were upon them with the bayonet. The rout was complete. Had the cavalry of Greene been present, or could he have ventured to push forward another regiment to follow up the blow, the conflict would have been finished in victory. But he dared not peril his line with such a hope, particularly as the battle was still raging on the left, and had assumed an aspect unfavourable to his fortunes. Stevens, who commanded the left wing of the Virginians, had been disabled; his militia, after a gallant struggle, had at length yielded to the push of the veteran bayonet, and, still delivering their fire from tree to tree, as they withdrew, were winding through the woods to the rear of the continentals. Their retreat left the column of Leslie free to hasten to the support of that of O'Hara, who was now hurrying to the assault upon the second regiment of Maryland. It was their shame and Greene's misfortune, that this latter body failed to follow the brilliant example just given them by that of Gunby, —failed in the moment of trial, and, breaking at the first rude collision with the enemy, scattered themselves in confusion through the field. Gunby's regiment again interposed to check the progress of the British. Wheeling to the left upon the advancing guards of the enemy, they compelled a renewal of the contest. Fierce and wild was the encounter. Gunby's horse shot down, Howard succeeded to the command. At the moment of greatest peril, when the strife was at its worst, Washington with his

cavalry dashed through the British ranks, smiting terribly on every side. The charge of the bayonet, led by Howard, rendered the shock irresistible, and Stuart, the commander of the guards, being slain, they sought safety in flight, suffering dreadfully under the close pursuit of Howard and Washington, who gave them no breathing moment to reunite their broken ranks. Cornwallis beheld the peril of the day. The field could be saved only by an expedient, at once bold and terrible. He did not scruple to use it. The ground was covered by his favourite but flying troops. The Americans were close upon their footsteps. All was about to be lost, when the stern but sagacious Briton commanded his artillery to open upon the mingling masses, though every bullet told equally upon friend and foe. "It is destroying ourselves," remonstrated O'Hara. "Very true," was the reply of Cornwallis, "but it is necessary that we should do so, to arrest impending destruction." The expedient was successful; the pursuing Americans paused from the work of death; but one half of the British battalion was cut to pieces by their own artillery. As the British rallied, Greene seized the opportunity to recall his troops, and retire from a field at once of defeat and victory. The laurel had been within his grasp more than once during the conflict. The premature flight of the first line, before their fire had well told upon their assailants—the unhappy panic of the second regiment of Maryland—had lost him the day. But for these events the victory was beyond all question. To Cornwallis, who had narrowly escaped captivity in the conflict, it was such a victory as that of Pyrrhus. It left him undone. The fruits of the battle of Guilford enured to the Americans. The remaining force of Cornwallis showed a diminution of one fourth of its strength, and its progress was encumbered by his numerous wounded. It soon became necessary that he should retreat from the barren field that he boasted to have won. Greene pressed upon his retreating footsteps. But

the flight of Cornwallis was too precipitate; and, after having contributed, by an eager pursuit, to precipitate his movements, Greene forbore the chase, and prepared to contemplate a new enemy and another field of action. He determined once more to penetrate the territories of South Carolina, and to attempt, in detail, the distraction of the several British posts, by which they held that state in subjection.

His appearance in Carolina—his approach to the British post at Camden—was not long concealed from the enemy whom he now sought. The departure of Cornwallis for Virginia left Lord Rawdon in command of the British forces in the extreme south. Rawdon was a bold, cool, and vigilant commander. He prepared for the enemy whom he had been taught to respect. Greene advanced to a position within half a mile of the British lines, but failed to beguile Rawdon from their shelter as was his object. Advices of approaching reinforcements to the latter, prompted the American general to withdraw from this position, after a demonstration sufficiently long to encourage his troops. He then, in a sudden movement, by a circuitous route, proceeded to throw himself across the path of the advancing reinforcements of the British. Satisfied, finally, to leave these to the interposing forces of Marion and Lee, Greene returned to the post at Hobkirk's Hill, which he had before taken, in proximity to the lines of Rawdon. It was while his troops, fatigued by a long and rapid march, and almost famished by twenty hours of abstinence, were preparing a hasty breakfast, that a fire from his vedettes, and a rapid roll of the drum announced the approach of the enemy. In a few moments all was in order for battle. The line occupied a long low ridge, the left wing resting upon an impassable swamp, the right in air, and stretching away into the forests. The field was one unbroken tract of wood. The high road to Camden ran through the centre of the encampment, dividing the

two wings and leaving a space for the artillery. The continentals were too few to form more than a single line of nine hundred men. The Virginians formed the right, led by Huger. The left, which included the veteran regiment of Gunby, and Ford's second Maryland, was committed to Williams. Harrison, with the artillery, held the centre, while the reserve, consisting of only two hundred and fifty militia, was posted with Washington's cavalry. The approach of Rawdon was well arrested by the picket guard, under Benson and Morgan, who disputed the ground inch by inch. Kirkwood, with the remnant of the noble regiment of Delaware, next encountered him with a sturdy spirit that could not be surpassed; but they could only delay and not arrest or baffle the superior forces that came against them. As Greene beheld the front of the British line, he was struck with its narrowness, and the keen eye of military genius at once seized upon the advantage which the fact suggested. To outflank the British was his prompt decision. "Let Campbell and Ford turn their flanks," was his cry—"the centre charge with the bayonet, and Washington take them in the rear." The battle opened from right to left in an instant; the American fire soon declared its superiority to that of the enemy. Right and left, the regiments of Ford and Campbell were gallantly pressing forward upon the British flanks; and all things promised well for victory, when the former fell by a mortal wound, and a momentary confusion followed in his ranks. It was at this critical moment that the regiment of Gunby, the favourite corps of the army—the only veterans which it had to boast, and to which all eyes turned for example—faltered in the advance, recoiled in panic, and, mistaking a precautionary order of their leader for an order to retreat, wheeled about and hurried in confusion to the rear. Their officers strove in vain for their recall. Panic, in war, is a loss of all the faculties. They were deaf and blind to all things but danger, and the impulse of

terror proved irresistible. Their retreat isolated the regiment of Ford. The pernicious example spread. The raw troops under Campbell had been playing well their parts until this disaster, but they soon fell into confusion. The second Virginia regiment still held their ground. Greene, heedless of all the risk, led them on in person, and periled himself as freely as a captain of grenadiers eager to pluck distinction from the bloody shrines of a first battle-field. But the day was irretrievable. It was in vain that he spurred his horse through the thick of conflict, and stood upon the loftiest places of the field, indifferent to its swarming bullets. His eyes opened only on disaster. To draw off the army, to cover the fugitives with the troops that still held together—to do all to lessen the aggregate of loss and mischief—was now the obvious policy. The artillery was about to be lost. Greene himself seized upon the drag-ropes. His example was irresistible. His men gathered about him; but they began to fall fast beneath the assaults of the enemy. Of forty-five that had rushed to his side, but fourteen remained. All would have been lost, but for the timely charge of Washington's cavalry. This charge arrested the pursuit. The day closed, and, returning like a wounded tiger to his jungle, Greene paused within two miles of the scene of conflict to draw together his shattered forces.

Deep was the mortification of the American general;—but he did not despair. He had his consolations. Two days after this event saw the garrison of Fort Watson yielded to Marion. That of Fort Motte soon shared the same fate, in spite of all the efforts of the British general. Orangeburg was yielded to Sumter, and Rawdon began to tremble lest he should be cut off from his communication with the coast. He evacuated Camden; thus acknowledging, that, though successful in a pitched battle, the necessary effect of the manœuvres of the American general had been to give him the superiority. And these results were the

fruits of a single month of activity. The strong post of Ninety-Six, or Cambridge, was still held by the British under Colonel Cruger. The garrison consisted of near six hundred men, more than half of whom were regulars. The rest were loyalists, practised warriors, men of deadly aim with the rifle, and most of whom fought with a halter round their necks. The post was one to be defended to the last, at every hazard. Greene's resources in the *personnel* and *materiel* of warfare, were equally deficient, but he was resolved to make the most of his possessions. He planted his standard before Ninety-Six, and began the leaguer. The defences were strong. They consisted of a redoubt consisting of sixteen salient and returning angles in the form of a star. It was surrounded by a dry ditch, frieze, and abatis. On the opposite side, at a distance of one hundred and eighty yards, a stockade fort, strengthened by two block-houses, stood upon a gentle eminence. This fort was separated from the town by a small valley. A stream which ran through the valley supplied the garrison with water. A covered way kept up the communication between the two places; and, as a defence on the right—the left being protected by the fort—an old jail had been converted into a citadel. The place thus strong, was still farther strengthened by the garrison, as the tidings reached them of Greene's approach. The whole force which the American general could bring against them did not much exceed a thousand men. His chief engineer was the famous Kosciuszko. The leaguers continued to advance. Day and night the labour was carried on. The skirmishes were incessant. The besieged made frequent sallies. The spirit of both parties continued to rise. A second parallel was at length completed—a mine had been begun —the enemy was summoned, and returned a defiance, and a third parallel was in progress. The British guns were silenced—their works were overawed—and the siege was drawing to a close. It had continued eighteen days.

The garrison was dispirited. Despairing of relief, Cruger must soon have yielded the post, when he received tidings of the approach of Lord Rawdon. Greene was already in possession of this knowledge. It was by means of a woman who had a lover in the British garrison, that Cruger received the tidings also. This strengthened his resolution; and nothing now was left to the American general but to attempt by assault, what he now could not hope to effect by the tedious process of the leaguer. Rawdon, eluding Marion and Sumter, was at hand with an overwhelming force. Not a day was to be lost. The assault was made on the 18th June, at noonday. Lee, with the legion, with a detachment of Kirkwood's Delawares, was charged with the attack of the right. His forlorn hope was led by Major Rudolph. Campbell, with his own regiment, the first Virginia, and a detachment of Marylanders, was to attempt the redoubt. Duval of Maryland, and Seldon of Virginia, commanded his forlorn hope. A constant fire from the forts and towers was to cover the assault, and sweep the parapet for the attacking parties. The party commanded by Lee, and led by Rudolph, soon succeeded in their object, and captured the fort. The attack on the redoubt was a far more serious matter. At the signal of battle, the batteries and rifle tower opened their fire, and the several parties rushed forward to the murderous struggle amid the smoke and thunder of artillery. Duval and Seldon, with their devoted bands, soon made their way into the ditch of the redoubt, and began to throw down the abatis. They were welcomed with a blaze of lightning on every side. Through every loophole and crevice did the fatal rifle pour forth its swift and certain death; and the very overthrow of the abatis, which went on steadily before their efforts, only the more exposed them to the deadly aim of the defenders. The battle raged fiercely, but not long, in this quarter. The ranks of the assailants were soon terribly thinned, as they

strove in the narrow pathway, hemmed in between two walls of fire, and met, whenever they strove at the walls above them, by a glittering array of pikes and bayonets. Duval and Seldon were both stricken, but not mortally. Armstrong had fallen dead at the head of his company. But the survivors struggled on. The curtain was won; and this was all. The conflict was too unequal to be continued. Greene dared no longer cripple his army, with an enemy's force, like that of Rawdon, so near at hand. His troops were withdrawn—his wounded, even, brought off under a galling fire—and the leaguer was abandoned. There was no good fortune to co-operate with the labours of the American general. Again was the victory plucked from his enjoyment when almost in his grasp.

He had not simply to forego his prize;—he had now to fly before the superior forces of his enemy. But Rawdon soon discontinued pursuit, and it was not long before he withdrew the garrison from Ninety-Six. The necessities of the British army rendered it necessary that they should concentrate in the neighbourhood of the seaboard. Greene wheeled about, at the first show of retreat on the part of Rawdon. The latter continued on his progress to Charleston. Orangeburg became the rendezvous of the British army. The Americans were encouraged by several small successes. A force of the enemy's cavalry were captured by Lee, within a mile of their camp. A large supply of British stores were cut off; the patriots were rapidly crowding to the ranks of the partisan commanders; and Greene once more pushed forward to try his fortunes in a pitched battle. He was now at the head of two thousand men; most of whom were militia indeed; but they were led by Marion, Sumter, and Pickens, under whose eyes they always knew how to fight. But the oppressive heat of a southern summer interfered to check the arm of war, and a brief respite from toil was found among the salubrious hills of Santee. Still, the light troops and the parti-

san militia were occasionally busy. Pickens was employed to punish the Indians, whom he overcame in a manner new to their experience, by invading them in their fortresses by mounted riflemen. Sumter, Marion, and Lee had shaken their flags in the faces of the British garrison, at Charleston; and the spirit of American valour was never more lively and enterprising than when the army was lying quiet, during the dogdays, in the camp of repose. It was during this period that the British executed Colonel Hayne, in Charleston, as a spy. Greene threatened a terrible retaliation for this crime; and, but for the termination of the war, would have executed his resolve unsparingly. He writes to Marion—"It is not upon tory officers that I will retaliate, but upon the British." He felt the necessity—never so obvious as in time of war—of making himself feared by his enemy; if necessary, by the adoption of any practice of severity by which the wanton severities of the foe may be restrained. It was fortunate for humanity that fate interposed to arrest a warfare in which revenge was fast becoming a principle of common action.

On the 22d of August, the camp of Greene was broken up. He had grown impatient of repose. "It must be victory or ruin," was his language; and he crossed the Wateree to seek his enemy, who lay at the Eutaw Springs. But he had been disappointed of supplies and reinforcements. His resources were still very inferior. But something must be periled, and he moved forward with equal silence and celerity. Stewart, who commanded the British, lay at Eutaw in a pleasant security, never dreaming of a foe. On the night of the 7th of September, Greene slept beneath the green shadows of an olive oak, within seven miles of the British camp. The Americans were in motion at daybreak, the next morning. Stewart was thinking that morning of feeding, rather than fighting. His foraging parties, laden with sweet potatoes, which they

had been gathering in the contiguous plantations, were suddenly surprised at this agreeable occupation by the advance of the Americans. The British were awakened from a pleasant slumber, to prepare for a struggle which might conduct to one infinitely more profound. The position taken by Stewart was one of considerable strength. On his right was the Eutaw creek, which issued from a deep ravine, thickly fringed with brush and underwood. The only open ground was an old cornfield, through which the public road now ran. This was commanded by a strong brick house, two stories high, the garret-windows furnishing a third story, from which the sharp-shooters could wing their murderous missiles to advantage. A garden in the rear of the building, surrounded by a strong palisade, extended to the edge of the creek. A barn and sundry other outbuildings, furnished defensible places for temporary refuge and retreat. The country was well wooded all around. The British camp lay in the field, under cover of the house; and, in marching out for battle, such was the unexpectedness of that event, their tents were suffered to remain standing.

Stewart, with these advantages, naturally made a skilful disposition of his troops. His force was somewhat superior numerically to that of Greene. They had been trained by an admirable discipline, though a portion of them consisted of European recruits, who had never been in action. He drew them out, with a large confidence in their capacity to keep their ground, occupying the skirt of the woods in front of the camp, and fully covering the Charleston road. A detachment of infantry, with one fieldpiece, was pushed forward, about a mile in advance of his line, to skirmish with and retard the American approach. The army of Greene advanced in two columns, each containing the material of a line of battle. The first was composed of the militia of South and North Carolina, led by Marion, Pickens, and Malmedy. In the second, came the continentals,

—contingents chiefly from Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina. General Sumter commanded on the right; Colonel Campbell led the centre, composed of Virginians; and the left, consisting of Marylanders, was committed to Williams. Lee, with his legion, and Henderson, with the state troops, were charged with the protection of the flank. Washington, with his cavalry, and the *debris* of Kirkwood's command of Delawares, formed the reserve. The artillery, four pieces in all, was equally divided between the columns of attack, and moved with them.

About four miles from Eutaw, Lee and Henderson encountered a detachment of the British cavalry, who, mistaking the advance for a party of militia, only rushed upon their ruin in rushing to the attack. They were dispersed, leaving several dead, and forty prisoners to the Americans. Believing this to be the advance of the enemy, Greene proceeded to display his first column, moving slowly forward in order of battle. Lee and Henderson, supported by Williams, and the two pieces of artillery confided to his column, soon came in conflict with the British van, which was quickly driven in upon its main body, the American line pressing forward, and firing as it advanced, until halted by the presence of the enemy's whole array. Stewart, finding himself as yet opposed to militia only, was disposed to take the struggle coolly and with indifference. His men were ordered to keep their ranks and repel the assailants by their fire only,—which, from regulars, was supposed to be quite enough for the dispersion of mere militia. But these were not mere militia;—they were the partisans of Marion and Pickens; and, under such leaders, had a confidence in their strength and securities which made them quite as stubborn as veterans. Fire answered to fire, and Marion's men always made their mark. They held their ground unwavering. The legion infantry of Lee was engaged with the British sixty-third, on the right; while on the left, Henderson, with the state troops, was compelled to

endure a galling fire from a neighbouring thicket, where Majoribanks was posted with a battalion of light infantry. Never did militiamen do better duty than on this occasion. They yielded only to the whole weight of the British army, enforced by the forward movement of the bayonet, but not till they had delivered seventeen rounds a man. Their places were supplied by the troops under Sumner, composed of new levies also. Greene was holding back his regulars—the continentals of Williams and Howard—for the last grand effort. Sumner brought his men handsomely into action. The battle soon raged with renewed violence; and the British gave back, unable to withstand the galling severity of the American fire.

Stewart felt that every thing was at hazard. The second line of the Americans had only partially engaged in the action. Their cavalry and reserve were still fresh, while, with the exception of the reserve, the whole of the British army had been breathed by the battle. Without loss of time, bringing up his reserve, he condensed his line, and, posting his cavalry under Coffin, on the left, for its better protection from Washington's horse, he opposed a new and firmer front to the fierce fire of the Americans. The latter were now overbalanced by this accession to the British force. Henderson was wounded, and the centre yielded. At this sight the British pressed forward with a shout, deeming the field already won. This was the moment for Greene's unemployed battalion. "Let Williams and Campbell sweep the field with their bayonets," was the order which the two brigades hastened to obey. At the same moment, observing that the American right now extended beyond the enemy's left, Lee ordered Rudolph to turn their flank, and pour in a destructive fire. The air rang with opposing shot and shout. The brigade of Maryland rushed upon their foes without pulling trigger. The Virginians, less practised in action, returned the fire of the British, and their gallant leader, Campbell, received

his mortal wound at this pregnant moment. But the ardour of the Americans was unchecked by these misfortunes. Their bold assault and eager firing inspired a panic on the British left which soon extended to the centre. They shrunk, with the exception of the Buffs, from the searching thrust of the bayonet; and these opposed themselves to the rush of the Americans in vain. Pressing forward in a compact line upon the ranks already disordered by the bayonet, they delivered a sheet of fire which swept the opposing masses from the path. The rout promised to be complete. The British seemed to be dispersed. Their fugitives hurried off madly upon the Charleston road, carrying the news of their defeat to the metropolis, and filling their friends every where with terror. The Americans pressed the pursuit until they fell in with the British tents, as they had been left standing, and filled with such creature comforts, ready to their hands, as they had not for a long season been permitted to enjoy. The temptation was too great for discipline. Their ranks were broken. They crowded the tents, and in the conviction of a victory completely won, gave themselves up to the gratification of their appetites. The dainties and strong drink of their enemies achieved what their weapons and valour had not done; and the British general, peculiarly fortunate in the post which he had taken, and in his own and the coolness of certain of his chiefs and soldiers, prepared to take advantage of the disorder among his foes. The British camp was commanded by the brick house already described, into which Major Sheridan had thrown himself with a large body of the fugitives. He had gained this shelter with difficulty, some of the pursuing Americans having nearly succeeded in entering along with him. But the point once gained was a fortress, upon which the fugitives could still fall back, and find protection. Majoribanks, with his battalion, still held his ground in the close thicket, by which the Eutaw creek was covered. It was in vain that the

Americans struggled to dislodge him. Attempting to penetrate the dense forest fastness of *blackjack*, Washington spurred forward with his cavalry; but a destructive fire received his command, spread death and confusion among them, brought down all but two of his officers, and his own horse having been slain, he himself was made a prisoner. The Delawares advanced with the bayonet, and, supported by the remains of the cavalry led by Hampton, renewed the effort to dislodge this stubborn enemy. The attempt was made in vain. The position was too strong, and too firmly maintained. Majoribanks was at length enabled to fall back upon the house which Sheridan occupied, and to take a new position in the picketed garden in its rear. Coffin drew up his cavalry across the Charleston road; and, thus supported, Stewart once more proceeded in the effort to reform his line of battle.

Greene, meanwhile, pressing forward to complete his victory, brought up his artillery against the house. But the weight of metal was too small for his object, the pieces were brought unhappily too closely within the range of the building, and the artillerists were swept down before the incessant fire of its musketry. Seizing this moment to charge and trample down the Americans, who had so rashly scattered themselves among the British tents, Coffin with his cavalry from one side, and Majoribanks with his light troops from the other, hurried forward. Eggleston, with a portion of the legion cavalry, vainly opposed himself to this movement. Coffin pressed forward, and the half inebriate soldiers would have been massacred to a man, but for the timely arrival of Hampton, who had succeeded to the command of Washington's horse. He drove back the British cavalry, but the pursuit brought him within the range of the fire of Majoribanks, under which his troop was again broken and repulsed. As they retired to the woods, Majoribanks seized the moment to snatch the two pieces of American artillery from the field, where it had been

119

brought forward to batter the house. Dragging this trophy off in triumph, he was not diverted from the more substantial service of scattering and destroying the Americans, who still lingered among the tents. Under these auspices, the British line was formed anew, and put in order of battle. Greene rallied his forces in the wood. The battle was not renewed. It was only not a victory. The advantages all lay with the Americans. In a few hours, the British decamped for Charleston. Seventy of their wounded were left to the care of Greene, who made five hundred prisoners. Stewart destroyed his stores, his surplus materiel of all kinds, and succeeded, though at great cost of life, in eluding the pursuit of Marion and Lee, who hung upon his rear, and harassed his retreat. Greene's losses were severe. The battle had been fought in one of the hottest days in September, and his weary and wounded soldiers, thirsting for water, plunged headlong into a neighbouring pond which was soon turbid with their blood.

At no time adequately supplied with men and munitions, Greene found himself at this moment much more feeble than ever. Weary marches, inferior food, want of water, continued and arduous service, a sickly climate, with the intense heat of the season, rendered repose absolutely essential to safety. He could achieve nothing, could attempt nothing. Reinforcements from Virginia and Maryland were cut off, in consequence of the call for troops in those states, rendered pressingly necessary by the presence of Cornwallis. The months of September and October wore away slowly without bringing help or encouragement. The British army, more than two thousand in number, posted near Nelson's Ferry, were plundering the country through their light armed troops. Against these, the American general could only operate through the partisan generals, whose troops generally lessened in number, as the militiamen were required to superintend the gathering of their harvests. To tend the fields and fight the

enemy was the twofold duty of a class of troops, whom it has been the too frequent habit to disparage.

On the 9th November, Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown, and this event brought reinforcements to the army of the south. Greene instantly proceeded to put his troops in motion. They had lost no heart by their sufferings—had learned, on the contrary, to feel their strength, and to estimate, without exaggeration, that of the invader. The latter had suffered in *morale*, after the affair of the Eutaws. Their cavalry no longer waited for that of the Americans; and, though still inferior in numbers to the British force, Greene determined to attempt his post at Dorchester by surprise. His approach was communicated to its commander in season to enable him to draw in his detachments, destroy his stores, and retreat to Charleston. By a corresponding movement, Stewart fell back from Goose creek, upon the same point. The manœuvres, by which these results were produced, would require details which our space will not allow. Enough that Washington, speaking of Greene, remarks of them as affording "another proof of the singular abilities which that officer possesses." The Americans were gradually contracting the limits of their enemies. The *cordon militaire* grew daily more and more rigid. Marion and Lee guarded the district lying between the rivers Cooper and Ashley, the communication being kept open by Hampton of the state cavalry; and the activity of these commands soon cooped up the British within the immediate precincts of Charleston and its tributary islands along the sea. Within these limits, looking daily for assault, they proceeded to arm the negroes—a desperate measure which declared equally their feebleness and fears.

Greene, unhappily, was not prepared to attempt either assault or siege. The leaguer of a walled city was beyond his numbers and artillery. He had neither tents, nor ammunition, nor axes, nor kettles, nor canteens, except in

such small quantity as better to display his deficiencies than his possessions. Meanwhile advices reached him of a British fleet from Ireland with three thousand troops on board, within two days' sail of Charleston. Reinforcements were also reported to be on their way from New York. These were alarming tidings. Fortunately, they were grossly exaggerated. Sixty artillerists from Ireland, a couple of regiments, and a hundred and fifty dismounted dragoons from New York, was the total of the increase of British force in Charleston. But the anxiety of Greene, while in the belief that the report was true, kept him in constant activity and exercise. Supplies, which had been promised months before, had failed to come; troops under St. Clair and Wayne, which, a year before, had been ordered to his assistance, had not yet shown themselves; and the prospect that presented itself to the American commander in the south, was that of the loss of all that he had gained, and a second painful retreat such as he had been compelled to make when Cornwallis pursued him to the Dan. But though mortified, doubtful, and apprehensive, Greene had lost no nerve in considering his melancholy prospects. His soul was rather strengthened than subdued by what he saw before him. His resolution, deliberately taken, was "to fight, and fight hard, too, so that, if beaten, the wounds of his enemy should at least prevent his pursuit."

The more agreeable news, which showed the exaggeration of former tidings, encouraged the American general to newer enterprises. To complete the recovery of the country around Charleston, nothing remained but to drive the enemy from the position which they held upon John's Island. To Lee and Laurens it was entrusted to effect this object, by an attack conducted in the night. But the attempt was only partially successful. One of the columns lost its way. But the scare was enough. Apprized of the attempt, and anticipating its renewal, the British post was

withdrawn to the city. With the exception of Charleston, the whole of South Carolina was once more in possession of its people. The campaign of 1781 closed, leaving it so. The assembly of the state was called together, at the opening of 1782, at the little village of Jacksonborough, on the Edisto, and within striking distance of the British. In the assembly, the governor paid a high compliment to the "great and gallant General Greene—his wisdom, prudence, address and bravery"—to which the assembly with one voice responded. The senate voted him an address of thanks for "the distinguished zeal and generalship which he had displayed on every occasion"—and the house of representatives rendered the acknowledgment more memorable and emphatic, by vesting in him "ten thousand guineas." These compliments and this appro priation were of grateful and large importance to his feelings and his interests. He had been bitterly reviled by slanderous tongues, and his private resources were exhausted.

The improved prospect of the war did not lead to any relaxation of the vigilance of the American general. He projected a night attack upon Charleston, by floating down the Ashley; but the scheme was reluctantly abandoned as impracticable. The winter wore away in quiet, broken only by the occasional appearance of small parties from the city, who seldom lingered to be embraced. Towards the opening of spring, there was bustle in the enemy's lines denoting movement. Little did Greene anticipate their present schemes, or the hopes upon which they were grounded. They were fortunately discovered in season. Failing to conquer in the field, the British had resorted to a similar agency with that which was to have given West Point to their keeping. There was discontent in the American camp of which they availed themselves. The Pennsylvania line, which was already notorious for revolt, had joined the army, and the ancient spirit revived in a new form. Some of the old mutineers were ready to sell the

army and their commander to the British general. The day was appointed, the snares laid, and the British troops were set in motion agreeable to the plan of action. But the fidelity of a woman defeated the treacherous scheme. Gornell, a serjeant, was hung as the principal traitor, while four others were sent in chains into the interior, and there kept safe from farther mischief. Twelve other conspirators deserted to the enemy the night of Gornell's arrest.

This bold conspiracy, thus crushed in the moment of performance, put the finishing blow to the hopes of the British. As Greene drew nearer to the metropolis, General Leslie, commanding in Charleston, proffered a cessation of hostilities, in view of an approaching peace; but, though unable to decide upon a proposition which wholly lay with Congress, Greene saw that the war was virtually at an end. The summer was passed in inactivity, but with no relaxation of vigilance. In July, the camp of the Americans was within sixteen miles of Charleston. The garrison grew straitened for provisions, and the attempts to supply them resulted in a skirmish in which the gallant Laurens, the Bayard of the American army, was killed. This was the closing event in the bloody struggle. The evacuation of Charleston followed, of which place Greene took possession on the 14th December, making a triumphant entry, under a mixed civil and military escort, and with the governor by his side. The war was over. The southern army was dissolved, though not before some unpleasant controversies had arisen between the civil and the military arm within the state of South Carolina, in which Greene took the part of the soldiery, but without losing the affections of the people. The last days of his public career were consumed in cares and anxieties. Imprudently, he became security for an army contractor, which involved him in pecuniary loss and difficulty, by which the closing hours of his life were embittered. Yielding his command, he returned to Newport, where he first began to discover

alarming symptoms of suffering and debility. His private affairs called him to Charleston. Banks, the man by whose obligations he had been ruined, and whom it was important he should see, fled at his approach. Greene pursued him on horseback for more than four hundred miles over routes which he had frequently traversed at the head of his army. He overtook the fugitive only to see him die. The miserable man had fled from the city with a mortal fever in his veins. He had fled from his creditor to find security in death. The event was fatal to Greene's fortunes. He was forced to sacrifice his estates in Carolina for half their value. His friends counselled an appeal to Congress which he offered in a memorial entreating indemnity in case of final loss. It does not appear that the application was successful.

Meanwhile, he removed to Georgia, establishing himself on a plantation, at Mulberry Grove, on the Savannah. He had scarcely done so, when he was challenged by Captain Gunn, of the army, who deemed himself wronged by a decision, in regard to the taking and capture of a horse, which Greene had made, while his superior officer. Greene declined the meeting, refusing to sanction, by his example, a proceeding which would be fatal to all discipline and all subordination among the several grades of an army. He consulted the opinion of Washington, who justified his course.

The peace and repose afforded by plantation life, so different from the turmoil and strife of the preceding eight years, were productive of the happiest effects upon the mind of Greene. He possessed a lively sympathy with the aspects of the natural world,—rejoiced in the songs of birds, and the sight of flowers,—the peace and glory of the woods, and the growth of plants and fruits. An unhappy exposure to the intense fervor of a southern sun, shooting its piercing arrows amid the humid atmosphere which overhangs the fertile but rank and unwholesome limits of

the rice region, put a fatal termination to this brief period of enjoyment and repose. He sank under the pestilential influence, on the 19th June, 1786, in spite of the most assiduous care, and the best ability of his medical attendants. The melancholy event called forth the lamentations of the country. The people of Georgia and Carolina assisted at his burial with the profoundest demonstrations of respect and grief. He was in the prime of manhood,—but forty-four years of age,—when he was thus suddenly snatched from his country and friends. His reputation, great at the time, has since been constantly on the rise. His moral character and genius were not unlike those of Washington. He was a man of method, industry, of calm, equable temper,—capable of bearing reverses without complaint, and of enjoying victory without exultation. He was a wise man, who could think in advance of the exigency, and thus provide against it;—a brave man, who could not be forced to fight, except when he thought proper;—a good man, against whom no reproaches survive;—a great man, who served his country with success and fidelity, and has not yet received his proper acknowledgment at her hands.

MAJ. GEN. A. WAYNE.

Ant.y Wayne

ANTHONY WAYNE.

ANTHONY WAYNE was born on the 1st of January, 1745, in the township of Easttown, Chester county, in the state of Pennsylvania. His father, Isaac Wayne, was a native of Ireland—a country whose sons and their descendants have contributed largely to the prosperity and honour of America. It is said that his early thoughts were tinged with a military feeling; and his exclusive devotion while at school to mathematical science, and afterwards to engineering, was the result of his desire, at some future day, to adopt the army as his profession.

The occupation of Mr. Wayne, from the time of his marriage, in 1767, to the year 1774, was that of a farmer, and land-surveyor, in his native county. He was elected a member of the Pennsylvania legislature, of 1774–5; and in the summer of 1775, was a member of the Committee of Public Safety. The approaching contest revived the strong inclination of his earlier years; and he began a course of military study, the aid of which he was soon called upon to bring to the service of his country. Having resigned his seat in the legislature, he raised, in September, 1775, a regiment of volunteers; and on the 3d of January, 1776, received from Congress the commission of colonel of one of the regiments to be raised for Pennsylvania. His popularity enabled him speedily to raise his regiment, and at the opening of the campaign of 1776, he was ordered with it to New York, and from thence to Canada. Under the command of the unfortunate General Sullivan, his regiment joined the expedition to

129

Canada which was defeated at Three Rivers. Great distinction was the result of Colonel Wayne's good conduct on this occasion, and he received a wound in the course of his successful efforts to effect the retreat of the troops, who were, after the evacuation of Canada, concentrated at Ticonderoga, the care of which was committed to him by Gen. Schuyler. On the 21st of February, 1777, Congress appointed Colonel Wayne a brigadier-general, and in May of that year joined the army of Washington, in New Jersey, where in a short time his brigade exhibited the discipline and energy which so eminently, on future occasions, distinguished the Pennsylvania Line. The public testimonial of the commander-in-chief to "the large share of bravery and good conduct" of General Wayne, in driving the enemy from the state of New Jersey, was followed by his official report to Congress, in June, 1777, in which he repeated his approbation. The British army having left New York, and their destination having been ascertained, General Washington directed General Wayne to proceed to Chester, in Pennsylvania, to organize the militia force which were ordered to assemble there, while the commander-in-chief, with the whole army, proceeded to the neighbourhood of the Brandywine, where an action was fought on the 11th of September, 1777, in which,—though the day was against America—the valour of many of the corps of her soldiers sustained her honour. The most conspicuous were the brigades of Wayne and Weedon, the third Virginia regiment commanded by Colonel Marshall, and the artillery commanded by Colonel Proctor of Pennsylvania. Though defeated, and inferior in numbers, the American army was not disheartened or broken, but advanced, on the 16th of September, to give the enemy battle near the Warren tavern on the Lancaster road; and the action was actually begun by General Wayne,

who led the advance, with great resolution, when a sudden and violent tempest, and a drenching rain, rendered it impossible for either army to maintain the contest, and they separated. The main body of the American army having retired up the Schuylkill, the division of General Wayne was directed by General Washington to move forward on the enemy, and if possible to cut off their baggage. He took a well-selected position, about a mile to the south of the Warren tavern; but the neighbourhood being inhabited by many traitors, his arrangements became known to the British, who marched to attack him on the night of the 20th September, and reached his encampment, through by-roads under the guidance of persons familiar with the country. About eleven o'clock at night, Major-General Gray assaulted the pickets, and drove them in at the point of the bayonet, and thus gave intimation of his near approach. The division, however, was quickly formed by its general, who was not unprepared for the occurrence; and while its right gallantly sustained a fierce attack, a retreat was directed by the left, and the whole were again formed not far from the ground, on which the action commenced. Very different accounts of this affair are given by the American and English writers;—the remarks made in the army on the subject of it induced General Wayne to demand a court of inquiry, which, after a careful investigation, were unanimously of opinion, "that he had done every thing to be expected from an active, brave, and vigilant officer," and "acquitted him with the highest honour."

Philadelphia having fallen into the possession of General Howe, who encamped a considerable portion of his army at Germantown, the vigilance of the American commander-in-chief enabled him to ascertain that three of the enemy's regiments were detached to keep open the land communication with Chester, until the forts on Mud Island and Billingsport could be reduced, and the navigation

opened to the British fleet to move up the Delaware to the city, and that four other regiments were there stationed to do garrison duty, the idea of falling upon, and destroying the camp at Germantown quickly suggested itself to his energetic mind. A careful reconnoitring of the enemy's position having been made, Washington moved to the attack on the 3d of October, 1777, at seven o'clock in the evening. The force employed was divided into two columns, of which Wayne's and Sullivan's divisions, and Conway's brigade formed the right, and took the Chestnut Hill road, Stirling's division following in reserve. Greene's and Stephen's divisions, with M'Dougall's brigade, and about fourteen hundred Maryland and New Jersey militia, formed the column of the left, and moved along the Old York and Limekiln roads; while a division of Pennsylvania militia, under Armstrong, proceeded by the Ridge road. The plan of attack assigned the left flank of the enemy's right wing to the troops under Wayne, Sullivan, and Conway; those under Greene, Stephen, and M'Dougall, were to fall upon its right flank, while Armstrong was to assail the western portion of the British camp.

Bravely and effectually was the duty committed to Wayne performed. The picket at Mount Airy was fiercely charged upon, and though reinforced by the fortieth regiment, and a battalion of light infantry, the position was carried, and the enemy driven more than two miles, and into the village of Germantown. No better account of his share of the engagement can be furnished than is given in his own letter, written on the 6th of October, describing the battle.

"*Camp, near Pawling's Mills, October 6th*, 1777.

"On the 4th instant, at the dawn of day, we attacked General Howe's army at the upper end of Germantown; the action soon became general, when we advanced on the enemy with charged bayonets; they broke at first, without waiting to receive us, but soon formed again,

when a heavy and well-directed fire took place on each side. The enemy gave way, but being supported by the grenadiers retured to the charge. General Sullivan's division and Conway's brigade were at this time engaged to the south of Germantown, whilst my division had the right wing of the enemy's army to encounter, on the north of the town; two-thirds of our army being too far to the north to afford us any assistance. However, the unparalleled bravery of our troops surmounted every difficulty, and obliged the enemy to break and run in the utmost confusion. Our people, remembering the action of the night of the 20th of September, pushed on with their bayonets, and took ample vengeance for that night's work. Our officers exerted themselves to save many of the poor wretches who were crying for mercy, but to little purpose; the rage and fury of the soldiers were not to be restrained for some time—at least, not until great numbers of the enemy fell by their bayonets. The fog, together with the smoke occasioned by our cannon and musketry, made it almost as dark as night, and our people, mistaking each other for the enemy, frequently exchanged shots before they discovered their error. We had now pushed the enemy near three miles, and were in possession of their whole encampment, when a large body of troops were discovered advancing on our left flank, which being taken for the enemy, our men fell back, in defiance of every exertion of the officers to the contrary, and after retreating about two miles, they were discovered to be our own people, who were originally intended to attack the right wing of the enemy. The fog and this mistake prevented us from following a victory that in all human probability would have put an end to the American war. General Howe for some time could not persuade himself that we had run away from victory, but the fog clearing off, he ventured to follow us with a large body of his infantry, grenadiers, and light horse. At this time being in the rear, with

the view of collecting the stragglers of our retreating army, and finding the enemy determined to push us hard, drew up in order of battle and awaited their approach. When they advanced sufficiently near, we gave them a few cannon shot. Not being pleased with this reception, our pursuers broke and retired—thus ended the action of that day, which continued from daylight until near 10 o'clock. I had forgot to mention that my roan horse was killed under me, within a few yards of the enemy's front, and my left foot a little bruised by a spent ball, but not so much so as to prevent me from walking. My poor horse received one musket ball in the breast and one in the flank, at the same instant that I had a slight touch on my left hand, which is scarcely worth noticing.

"Upon the whole it was a glorious day. Our men are in high spirits, and I am confident we shall give them a total defeat the next action, which is at no great distance.

"My best love and wishes to all friends.

"ANTHONY WAYNE."

It is not one of the objects of the present sketch to discuss the causes which turned the tide of victory, and rendered a retreat necessary;—they were various, and confusion and difficulty is encountered in estimating them. But, it was the good fortune of General Wayne to cover the retreat, and to save a portion of the greatly fatigued troops from capture by the enemy. The fire of a battery established by him, on a rising ground, near Whitemarsh church, was so effective, that it obliged the pursuing troops to retire, and give up further pursuit.

The privations and misery endured by the American army, during the winter of 1777, at Valley Forge, can hardly at this distant time be realized. It was exposed to dissolution from almost actual starvation; and a large portion of it was unable to do duty, being so nearly naked as to be obliged to keep in the huts, which were constructed

as protection against the severity of the weather. The commissariat alone was unable to afford relief to such a state of destitution, and recourse was had by the commander-in-chief to military forage over an extent of country surrounding his position. As this could not last, however, it became necessary to obtain supplies from a greater distance, and to combine with the operation that of preventing the enemy from converting to his own use the subsistence so much wanted by the continental army. General Wayne was assigned to this duty, which was commenced about the middle of February, in very severe weather, and carried into complete effect, in the district of country extending from Bordentown to Salem, in New Jersey, then within the lines of the enemy. Some hundreds of fat cattle, many excellent horses for the cavalry, and a great quantity of forage, were the fruits of this most opportune expedition, which returned to camp in less than a month; not, however, without some serious encounters with the enemy, in which the bravery of "the line," at a distance from any support from the main army, well seconded the energetic and rapid dispositions of its general. The relief afforded to the suffering at camp was of the most important character.

General Howe, after spending the winter of 1777–8 in Philadelphia, in a state of extraordinary inactivity, resigned the command of the British army, and was succeeded by Sir Henry Clinton, who arrived there early in June, 1778, and, in obedience to a positive order, immediately began to evacuate the city. For some time doubts were entertained as to the course of the enemy's retreat; but, so soon as it was ascertained that it was through New Jersey, to reach New York, the American army was put in motion, and, having crossed the Delaware at Coryell's ferry, moved on towards Cranberry in pursuit of him. Morgan's corps, and detachments under Generals Maxwell, Scott, and Cadwalader, were pushed forward to harass the

rear of the retreating force. On the 17th June, a council of war was held, and, of the seventeen general officers present, Wayne and Cadwalader alone were for battle, to which opinion Lafayette inclined. The council was again convened on the 24th June, but their opinion was not substantially different from that given on the 17th. Wayne, however,—Cadwalader being absent,—dissented, and retained his first opinion.

On the 25th June, it was ascertained that Clinton had taken the Monmouth road to New York, and Washington, whose anxious inclination to engage the enemy derived support from the opinion of Wayne, resolved to do so on his own responsibility. To carry his views into effect, General Wayne was directed to join the detachments already made; and the whole force, thus increased to four thousand men, becoming a major-general's command, was placed under the orders of Lafayette, with directions "to lose no favourable opportunity of attacking the enemy's rear." Proceeding at once to execute the orders, Lafayette, on the 26th June, took a position on the Monmouth road, in the rear of the British camp, from which he was distant about five miles; but, as the main body of the American army was not yet sufficiently advanced to support him, his corps moved back to Englishtown, on the 27th, and Lee's division formed a junction with it, the command of the whole devolving on him, as the senior major-general. The British army began to move, about day-break, on the 28th, and Lee was ordered by Washington to advance, and fall upon its rear, "unless prevented by powerful reasons;" and assurance was given him that he would be supported by the main body of the army. The error of Lee, in supposing that the British rear guard was but about two thousand men, led him to order Wayne to advance upon them, with seven hundred men, and two pieces of artillery, while he endeavoured to gain their front, and cut them off from the main army. His decep-

tion was only removed by his personal reconnoissance of the enemy's force, which revealed to him the fact that he was advancing upon, and was within striking distance of their main body. Sir Henry Clinton had ascertained that there was an increasing force hanging on his rear, and, fearful that an attack might be made upon the baggage and provision train, reversed the order of march which he had heretofore observed, and, having sent Knyphausen to the front with them, collected the flower of his army in the rear. His object was soon developed,—upon the advance of Lee from the heights of Freehold, Clinton suddenly turned upon him, intending to crush him before he could be supported by Washington. A severe action was the result of the movement, which was repulsed by the steadiness and good conduct of the troops of Wayne, who, being unsupported, were obliged to fall back upon the rest of Lee's corps, then, by that officer's order, in full retreat. Difficulty was experienced in joining them, when the arrival of the commander-in-chief, with reinforcements, changed the face of affairs, and extricated Lee. A severe action immediately took place between the two armies, which ended in the discomfiture and retreat of the British. The best concise account we have seen of the part General Wayne bore in it, is in the following characteristic letter.

Spottswood, July 1st, 1847.

"On Sunday, the 28th of June, our flying army came in view of the enemy, about eight o'clock in the morning, when I was ordered to advance and attack them with a few men, the remainder of the corps, under General Lee, was to have supported me; we accordingly advanced, and received a charge from the British horse and infantry, which was soon repulsed. Our general, however, thought proper to order a retreat, in place of advancing, without firing a single shot, the enemy following in force, which rendered it very difficult for the small force I had to gain the

main body, being hard pushed and frequently nearly surrounded. After falling back almost a mile, we met his excellency, who, surprised at our retreat, knowing that officers as well as men were in high spirits, and wished for nothing more than to be faced about and meet the British fire, accordingly ordered me to keep post where he met us, having a body of troops with two pieces of artillery then under my command, and to keep the enemy in play until he had an opportunity of forming the main army and restoring order.

"We had just taken post, when the enemy began their attack, with horse, foot, and artillery; the fire of their united force obliged us, after a severe conflict, to give way; after which a most severe cannonade, accompanied by small arms, was opened by our left wing on the enemy, which gave them an effectual check. During the interval, which this occasioned, every possible exertion was made use of by his excellency and the other generals to spirit up the troops, and prepare them for another trial.

"The enemy began to advance again in a heavy column, with the view of turning our left flank, but in this they failed. They then made a similar effort on our right, and, whilst our artillery was handsomely playing on them, I advanced with a strong body of troops,—we met the enemy,—the contest was exceedingly warm and well maintained on each side for a considerable time; at length victory declared for us; British courage failed, and was forced to give way to American valour.

"After retreating some considerable distance, the enemy took a strong position. General Washington, although many of our men were falling with thirst, heat, and fatigue, resolved to renew the action, and made his disposition for that purpose, but night prevented their final execution.

"We encamped on the field of battle, with a view of recommencing the action in the morning; but Sir Henry deemed it prudent to evade this, by retreating in the dead

of night; after having interred many of his killed, yet leaving us to bury some of his distinguished officers, and two hundred and forty-five of his soldiers, besides taking charge of a great number of his wounded. Our loss in this affair consists of a few gallant officers killed and wounded, and many brave soldiers in a similar state.

"Every general and other officer (one excepted) did every thing that could be expected on this great occasion, but Pennsylvania showed the road to victory.

"ANTHONY WAYNE."

Great credit and honour was accorded to General Wayne for his conduct on the occasion, by the country and the army; and the commander-in-chief in his official report to Congress, said, "The catalogue of those who distinguished themselves is too long to admit of particularizing individuals. I cannot, however, forbear to mention Brigadier-General Wayne, whose good conduct and bravery throughout the action deserves particular commendation."

We approach the most brilliant incident of the "hot, bloody trial" of the revolution—the storming of Stony Point. It was an enterprise peculiarly suited to "Pennsylvania's General," and the manner of its execution and success do credit to the selection made by the commander-in-chief for the service. Stony Point was a strong post on the Hudson, which commanded King's Ferry, the usual communication between the Eastern and Middle States, and was of great importance to the enemy should they desire to strike at the posts on the Highlands. It was strongly fortified, was protected by the river on two sides, by a deep morass on a third, which the tide overflowed, two rows of *abatis* surrounded the hill, and breastworks and artillery rendered the summit, in the opinion of its defenders, impregnable. The garrison consisted of six

hundred infantry, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Johnston.

On the 15th July, 1779, the troops were put in motion at Sandy Beach, about fourteen miles from the post to be attacked, and arrived near it at eight o'clock in the evening. They were formed into two columns as they came up. Febiger's and Meigs' regiments and Hull's detachment formed the right column, and the left consisted of Butler's regiment, and Major Murfree's two companies. The van of the right column was composed of one hundred and fifty volunteers under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Fleury; that of the left of one hundred volunteers, under the command of Major Stewart—they were preceded by two forlorn hopes of twenty men each, led by Lieutenant Gibbon of the sixth, and Lieutenant Knox of the ninth Pennsylvania regiments. The assault was to have taken place at midnight, on each flank of the works, but the nature of the ground retarded the approaches until twenty minutes after twelve o'clock, when it began. The advanced parties rushed forward with fixed bayonets and unloaded arms; and the general, placing himself at the head of Febiger's regiment, gave the troops the most pointed orders to place their whole reliance on the bayonet; and he was literally and faithfully obeyed. "Neither the deep morass, the formidable and double rows of *abatis*, nor the high and strong works in front, could damp the ardour of the troops, who, under a most tremendous fire of shells, grape, and musketry, forced their way with such unity of movement, that both columns met in the centre of the works at the same instant." Such was the celerity of the attack, that the assailants lost but about one hundred men killed and wounded, though the forlorn hope of Lieutenant Gibbon had seventeen men killed and wounded of the twenty of which it consisted. In this attack, the general received a wound in the head, not serious in its consequences, but which caused him to fall at the moment—

determined, if it were mortal, to die in the fort, he continued at the head of the column, supported by his aids, Captain Fishbourne and Mr. Archer, and entered the works with the troops.

The public and private demonstrations of the sense entertained of this most distinguished achievement, by the nation and illustrious individuals, were numerous and gratifying to the sensibility of one so high minded as General Wayne. The unanimous resolve of Congress, "presenting thanks to General Wayne for his brave, prudent, and soldierlike conduct, in the well-conducted attack on Stony Point," was followed by that of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, who resolved, unanimously, "that the thanks of this House be given to General Wayne, and the officers and soldiers of the Pennsylvania line, for the courage and conduct displayed by them in the attack on Stony Point, and the honour they have reflected on the state to which they belong," &c. The congratulatory letters received from the general officers of the army, and his friends in civil life, were warm and laudatory—not the least so was that of General Charles Lee, of whom, only six months before, General Wayne had demanded satisfaction for the severe strictures he had made on his testimony before the court-martial which followed the battle of Monmouth.

Bergen Neck, in New Jersey, between the Hudson and the Hackensac, had been selected by the refugees as the place for an establishment from which an organized banditti could at all times lay the surrounding country under contribution. They had constructed a very strong blockhouse, well furnished with the means of defence, and a numerous garrison, whence they issued to steal cattle, and plunder the inhabitants. The necessity of breaking up such a dangerous horde was imperious; and, on the 20th of July, 1780, General Wayne was detached, with a competent force, to effect the object. His

own report of the affair exhibits the result so well, that it is inserted entire.

"*Totoway, 22d July*, 1780.

"DEAR GENERAL,—In pursuance of the plan which your excellency was pleased to approve, the first and second Pennsylvania brigades, with four pieces of artillery, took up the line of march the 20th, at three o'clock, P. M., and arrived a little in rear of New Bridge at nine in the evening. We moved again at one in the morning, in order to occupy the ground in the vicinity of Fort Lee, and the landing opposite King's Bridge, by the dawn of day, agreeably to the enclosed order. We advanced towards Bull's Ferry, General Irvine, with part of his brigade, along the summit of the mountain, and the first brigade, under Colonel Humpton, with the artillery and Colonel Moylan's horse, on the open road. About ten o'clock the first brigade reached that place. Colonel Moylan, with the horse and a detachment of infantry, remained at the forks of the road leading to Bergen and Powle's Hook, to receive the enemy if they attempted any thing from that quarter. On reconnoitring the enemy's post at Bull's Ferry, we found it to consist of a blockhouse, surrounded by an abatis and stockade to the perpendicular rocks next North river, with a kind of ditch or parapet serving as a covered way. By this time we could discover a move of troops on York Island, which circumstance began to open a prospect of our plan taking the wished effect. General Irvine was therefore directed to halt in a position from which he could move to any point where the enemy should attempt to land, either in the vicinity of this post or Fort Lee, where the sixth and seventh Pennsylvania regiments were previously concealed, with orders to meet the enemy, and, after landing, with the point of the bayonet to dispute the pass in the gorge of the mountain, at every expense of blood, until supported by General Irvine and

the remainder of the troops. The first regiment was posted in a hollow way on the north of the blockhouse, and the tenth in a hollow on the south, with orders to keep up an incessant fire into the portholes, to favour the advance of the artillery covered by the second regiment. When the four field pieces belonging to Colonel Proctor's regiment arrived at the medium distance of sixty yards, they commenced a fire which continued without intermission from eleven until quarter after twelve, at which time we received expresses from Closter, that the enemy were embarking their troops at Phillips', and falling down the river. We also saw many vessels and boats, full of troops, moving up from New York, which made it necessary to relinquish the lesser;—i. e. drawing the enemy over towards the posts already mentioned, and deciding the fortune of the day in the defiles, through which they must pass before they could gain possession of the strong ground.

"In the mean time, we found that our artillery had made but little impression, although well and gallantly served, not being of sufficient weight of metal to traverse the logs of the blockhouse. As soon as the troops understood that they were to be drawn off, such was the enthusiastic bravery of all officers and men, that the first regiment, no longer capable of restraint, rather than leave a fort in their rear, rushed with impetuosity over the abatis, and advanced to the palisades, from which they were with difficulty withdrawn, although they had no means of forcing an entry: the contagion spread to the second, and by great efforts of the officers of both regiments, they were at length restrained, not without the loss of some gallant officers wounded, and some brave men killed. Happy it was that the ground would not admit of a further advance of the tenth, and that the situation of General Irvine's brigade prevented them from experiencing a loss proportionate to those immediately at the point of action, as the same gallant spirit pervaded the whole, which would have been

the means of frustrating our main object by encumbering us with wounded. The artillery was immediately drawn off and forwarded towards the wished-for point of action; the killed and wounded were all moved on, excepting three that lay dead under the stockades. During this period Colonel Moylan's dragoons drove off the cattle and horses from Bergen, whilst a detachment of the infantry destroyed the sloops and wood boats at the landing, in which were taken a captain with a few sailors; some others were killed in attempting to escape by swimming. Having thus effected part of our plan, we pushed forward to oppose the troops from Voluntine's hill, where we expected to land at the nearest point to New Bridge, which, if effected, we were determined either to drive back the enemy, or cut our way through them; but in the doing of either were disappointed. The enemy thought proper to remain in a less dangerous situation than that of the Jersey shore. We therefore passed on to New Bridge, and by easy degrees we have returned to this place.

"Enclosed are copies of the orders of the 20th, together with a return of the killed and wounded, sixty-four in number, among whom are Lieutenants Crawford and Hammond of the first, and Lieutenant De Hart of the second; the latter mortally wounded.

"I cannot attempt to discriminate between officers, regiments and corps, who with equal opportunity would have acted with equal bravery. Should my conduct and that of the troops under my command meet your excellency's approbation, it will much alleviate the pain I experience in not being able to carry the whole of our plan into execution, which, from appearance, could only have been prevented by the *most malicious* fortune.

"I have the honour to be your excellency's most obedient servant,

"ANTHONY WAYNE.

"*His Excellency, General Washington.*"

An important event, in the history of the army and the country, whose safety was in great danger, is next in order. The revolt of the "Pennsylvania line" was the result of a want of attention, on the part of the government, to the duties of punctuality and justice, and a disregard of complaints well founded, and eventually redressed. A braver or more faithful body of men than the troops of Pennsylvania never existed. They had always, when present, to use the words of their general, "led the way to victory;" but human nature could not withstand the complicated distresses, by which they were oppressed. The ready and resolute quellers of the mutiny of the Connecticut line, desperation drove them to become mutineers themselves. They were stationed at Morristown, New Jersey, where, on the night of the 1st of January, 1781, the first symptoms of departure from duty were shown, which soon spread throughout the line, and set all control at defiance. With the exception of three regiments, the whole turned out under arms, under the charge of the noncommissioned officers. The commissioned officers endeavoured to repress the disorder, and to force the men to their duty, and several were wounded, and one, Captain Bitting, was killed in the attempt. The influence of Wayne over them seemed to have given way before the misery they endured, and his exertions to bring them to terms were without success. A body of them, amounting to thirteen hundred, marched away from Morristown to Princeton, taking with them their arms and six fieldpieces. Their conduct, however, was regular and peaceable—they committed no destruction of property, and they professed to be true to their country, and to have no object in view, but that of obtaining a redress of their grievances. A committee of Congress was sent to them; and General Reed the President of Pennsylvania, and General Potter, were appointed by the council of that state, to bring about an accommodation with the mutineers, and finally succeeded, by redressing the just complaints of

the soldiers. So soon as the revolt of the line was known to the British at New York, Sir Henry Clinton endeavoured to take advantage of it, and made offers to the soldiery of every thing which they thought themselves entitled to at the hands of their country; but, as has been well said, "their patience, but not their patriotism was exhausted." They refused to listen to the offers of the enemy, who put in motion a body of troops to receive and support them—offered to General Wayne to march under his orders to repel them—and seized upon two spies or emissaries sent by the British general with propositions, and delivered them to General Wayne, by whom they were handed over to a board of officers, who tried and condemned them to death, a sentence which was speedily executed. Tranquillity was restored, and a general amnesty terminated the unhappy affair.

Early in the spring of 1781, the southern portion of the United States became the theatre of a devastating war, carried on by the army in Carolina, and detachments under Phillips, Lesley, and Arnold, who invaded Virginia, and extended their predatory excursions from the seaboard to the interior of the state, and captured the capital and many of the principal towns. To repel these incursions, General Washington, in the month of April, sent the Marquis de Lafayette with twelve hundred continental infantry, and soon after ordered Wayne with the Pennsylvania line, now reduced to about eleven hundred rank and file, to join them, which he did on the 7th of June. Lord Cornwallis, whose movements towards the force of Lafayette had created some uneasiness, fell back upon learning the junction of the two corps, and retreated to Richmond, and afterwards to Williamsburg, from whence, on the 5th of July, he reached Jamestown Ferry, and prepared to cross. Information was given on the 6th to Lafayette, who had hung on the rear of the retreating enemy, that "the main body of the British army" had effected a pas-

sage to the northern bank of the river, leaving only a rear guard of the ordinary force behind. The idea of annihilating this portion of the enemy's force, induced him to order General Wayne to attack it with about seven hundred men. In the execution of the order the pickets were driven in, and the assailants found themselves advancing not upon the rear guard, but upon the whole British army, already within less than a hundred paces, in order of battle, and extending their flanks to enclose him. To retreat was the last resource that ever suggested itself to Wayne under any difficulty; and his course was at once sagacious and energetic. He ordered a charge with the bayonet on the nearest body of the enemy, which was executed with the well known gallantry and vigour of "the line," and with such decisive effect upon the enemy as to put a stop to his movements. Wayne immediately retreated with great rapidity, and the whole proceeding had so much the appearance of a manœuvre, that, impressed with the idea that the attack and retreat were intended to draw them into an ambuscade, the British made no attempt to pursue the troops, whose conduct on the occasion received great commendation, and the tribute of glory to their general was fully accorded. The enemy continued their retreat towards Portsmouth, from which they finally moved to Yorktown, rendered subsequently memorable in the annals of America, by the second surrender of a British army.

Arrived at Yorktown, General Wayne was actively engaged in the duties of the investment and subsequent capture of the post. On the 6th of October, 1781, the first parallel was opened by Generals Wayne and Clinton, with six regiments; and on the 11th, the second parallel was commenced by the Pennsylvania and Maryland troops, covered by two battalions under the command of General Wayne. The attacks on the two detached redoubts of the enemy, which were made on the 14th, a little after dark

by the Marquis de Lafayette, at the head of the American light infantry, and the French troops, under the Baron Viomenil, was supported by two battalions of the Pennsylvania line, under General Wayne; and the second parallel was completed by detachments from it and the Maryland line, under Colonel Walter Stewart. Yorktown was surrendered on the 17th of October, 1781, and the attention of the country was turned to the enemy who held possession of the more southern portion of the Union. General Wayne was detached to the army of General Greene, the object being to receive his aid in bringing the state of Georgia within the authority of the confederation. The means afforded him were exceedingly limited, being the remains—about one hundred—of Moylan's dragoons, some three hundred undisciplined Georgia militia, to which was subsequently added three hundred continentals, under Colonel Posey of the Virginia line. In little more than a month he had, by boldness, vigilance, and activity, driven the enemy from the interior of the state, defeated his Indian allies, who sought to succour him, and confined him almost entirely to Savannah. "We are cooped up," says an intercepted letter, "within the town of Savannah, by about three hundred rebels, while we can muster twenty-five hundred men fit for duty."

The efforts of General Wayne, in the ardous duties confided to him, were not confined to mere exertions in the field. He brought back to their allegiance many of the disaffected,—"Made," to use his own phrase, "*Whigs* out of *Tories*;" and embodied them into two corps, and contrived to produce a spirit of discontent which extended to the British army itself. The British general in command—Clark—applied at this period to the Creek and Choctaw tribes of Indians, and invited them, with success, to join him. Two bodies of these savages marched early in May for Savannah, and the latter had actually reached its neighbourhood, where, owing to the foresight and

adroitness of Wayne, they were made prisoners. Two or three of their chiefs were retained by him as hostages, but he permitted the rest to return home, with a very significant recommendation not again to take part in a war which was not their own, in aid of a power not able to protect them. On the 20th of May, 1782, General Clark ordered Colonel Brown to meet the approaching Creeks at Ogechee, and accompany them into the city. This arrangement became known to Wayne on the same day; and, certain that the combined party must pass a long and narrow causeway over a swampy ground, he determined to strike it there. He reached the defile about twelve o'clock at night, and found the enemy already arrived. Without a moment's hesitation, and relying on the darkness to conceal the inadequacy of his force, which consisted of one section of dragoons and a company of infantry, he ordered an immediate charge on the enemy's column, which was made with "a vivacity and vigour, which, in a moment, and without burning a grain of powder, defeated and dispersed the whole of it." Colonel Douglass and forty men were killed, wounded, and taken in the action. The whole of the Creek force, however, was not in the engagement. Gueristasego, sometimes called Emitasago, with a strong party, amounting to five hundred warriors, had not arrived, on the 20th of May, at Ogechee; and having escaped the disaster of Brown conceived the idea of revenging his defeat. He struck into the woods and swamps, and, on the 24th of May, had approached the picket guard of Wayne's force, and, having slain the sentinel, reached, undiscovered, the light company of Lieutenant-Colonel Posey's corps, upon which so furious an attack was made that it was compelled to fall back a few paces; and the artillery, for whose protection it had been stationed, was, for a moment, in the possession of the enemy. The corps, however, immediately rallied, and, with Captain Gunn's company of dragoons, advanced

to the charge with such vigour, that the savages were entirely routed and dispersed, and their leader slain. The conflict, for a short time, was severe; but a free use of the bayonet and sabre proved the superior character of the troops of Wayne, whose military character was rather increased than diminished by the surprise, from which his promptness and coolness recovered them.

The hope of continuing the contest against America with success, was now abandoned by the British cabinet, and orders were given to their troops to evacuate Georgia. The British garrison left Georgia on the 12th of July, 1782, and very soon afterwards the small force under Wayne was ordered by General Greene to South Carolina. Charleston was soon after evacuated by the enemy, and on the 14th of December, was taken possession of by Wayne—his last military service during the war of the Revolution.

In July, 1783, after an absence of seven years, General Wayne returned to his native state, and to civil life. He was elected a member of the General Assembly, from Chester county, in 1784, and served for two sessions, taking a deep interest in all the measures of importance of the day. His time was much occupied with domestic concerns, arising out of the grant to him of a landed donation by the state of Georgia; an unfortunate gift, by which he was involved in great embarrassments, from which he was only relieved by parting with it at a sacrifice.

The call of his country again reached him—an arduous service was required at his hands, and he was ready. In the month of April, 1792, General Wayne was nominated by President Washington, to the command of the army of the United States. The particular object of this appointment arose from the refusal of some of the Indian tribes, the allies of England, to cease hostilities, when the treaty of peace of 1783 was made between the United States and that power. The treaty, indeed, did not extend to

the tribes, and their hostilities between 1783 and 1791, produced an immense loss of life and suffering to the American settlements on the Ohio.

Attempts were made, by all pacific means, to terminate such a state of affairs, but without success, and in September, 1791, recourse was had to force. General Harmar, with fifteen hundred men, of whom three hundred were regulars, entered the country of the Miami and Wabash tribes, and succeeded in accomplishing the object of the expedition. The Indian villages were burned, and their fruit trees and corn destroyed; but during the return home of the troops, some expeditions were planned, which were not attended with success; and though no fault was found at the time, it has been usual, in latter times, to attribute want of success to an excellent officer, and the expedition of 1790 has generally been termed "Harmar's defeat." The disastrous defeat of General St. Clair, on the 4th of November, 1791, increased the confidence of the savages, and vigorous and effectual measures became necessary to restore peace and tranquillity to the frontier. President Washington had selected General Wayne, as the commander-in-chief of the army, from his knowledge of the prudence and military skill, as well as bravery which he possessed—he knew also that he was acquainted with the peculiar mode of warfare of the enemy he was to oppose. The army which was to be placed at his disposition, for this arduous service, was to be recruited, and, what was more important, disciplined. Many circumstances conspired to retard the enlistment of the troops, and the addition of drafts from the volunteers and militia of Kentucky, still left the force to be employed much less than the exigency required. Negotiation, which to savages has always the air of weakness and timidity, was tried without any other effect than that of producing an apparent tranquillity, the precursor of the storm that was rising. It was soon found that negotiation was useless, and the orders which

restrained General Wayne from offensive operations during its progress, were withdrawn, and about the 1st September, 1793, he formed an encampment on the banks of the Ohio river, between Mill Creek and the then village of Cincinnati, where the troops were subjected to a steady and careful drill, adapted to the peculiar service they were about to encounter. Having in October taken up its line of march, in an order which was very different from that pursued in traversing an inhabited, cultivated country, but which enabled it to avoid surprise, and to be formed in line of battle immediately, the army arrived at the site chosen by General Wayne for his winter quarters, on one of the streams of the Stillwater branch of the Big Miami river. The encampment was called "Greeneville," a name which the stream on which it was laid out still retains. So soon as his camp was properly fortified, General Wayne turned his attention to the organization and military instruction of his troops, and remained till near midsummer of 1794 in his quarters, and then, upon the arrival of a body of mounted volunteers from Kentucky, marched into the Indian country to chastise the tribes and their British allies. Intelligence was received that the savages were in force at the Rapids, where they had been joined by a body of the Detroit militia, and a detachment of the British army. The spot they chose on which to meet the American army, was an elevated plain, near the foot of the Rapids, where the ground, from the effect of a recent tornado, was much strewn with fallen timber, and therefore less practicable for cavalry. Previously to engaging them, General Wayne sent an address to the enemy which was conciliatory, but firm and positive; the alternative was offered to them of war or peace. An evasive answer was returned, which the experienced leader to whom it was addressed knew was intended to gain time, and treated it accordingly.

The American army having erected a temporary work to protect their provisions and baggage, the enemy's posi-

tion was reconnoitred, and they were discovered encamped on Swan Creek, in the vicinity of a British fort, towards the foot of the Rapids. One reason for selecting the spot was, undoubtedly, the fact that this fort was a regular work, with sufficient artillery and a strong garrison, and had been recently constructed, contrary to the treaty with Great Britain, within the limits of the United States.

On the 20th of August, the army was put in motion, a battalion of mounted volunteers, commanded by Major Price, forming the advance. This corps was attacked, after marching near five miles, and received so hot a fire from the enemy, who were concealed in the high grass and woods, as to compel it to fall back. The army was immediately formed by General Wayne in two lines, in a close thick wood, while the savages were drawn up in three lines, near enough to support each other, at right angles with the river. "I soon discovered," says the General, in his account of the engagement, written to General Knox, "from the weight of the fire, and extent of their lines, that the enemy were in full force in front, in possession of their favourite ground, and endeavouring to turn our left flank. I gave orders for the second line to advance, and directed Major-General Scott to gain and turn the right flank of the savages, with the mounted volunteers, by a circuituous route. At the same time I ordered the front line to advance with trailed arms, and rouse the Indians from their coverts at the point of the bayonet; and when up, to deliver a close and well-directed fire on their backs, so as not to give time to load again. I also ordered Captain Campbell, who commanded the legionary cavalry, to turn the left flank of the enemy, next the river, and which afforded a favourable field for that corps to act in. All these orders were obeyed with spirit and promptitude; but such was the impetuosity of the charge of the first line of infantry, that the Indians and Canadian militia and volunteers were driven from their coverts in so short a

time, that, although every exertion was used by the officers of the second line of the legion, and by Generals Scott, Todd, and Barbee, of the mounted volunteers, to gain their proper positions, yet but a part of each could get up in season to participate in the action,—the enemy being driven, in the course of one hour, more than two miles through the thick woods already mentioned, by less than one-half their numbers. From every account, the enemy amounted to two thousand combatants; the troops actually engaged against them were short of nine hundred. This horde of savages, with their allies, abandoned themselves to flight, and dispersed, with terror and dismay, leaving our victorious army in full and quiet possession of the field of battle, which terminated under the influence of the British garrison, as you will observe by the enclosed correspondence between Major Campbell, the commandant, and myself."

The correspondence referred to was sufficiently pungent in its tone; and the British commander having taken occasion to give notice to General Wayne "that his army, or individuals belonging to it, should not approach within reach of his cannon, without expecting the consequences attending it," the answer he received was, the immediate destruction by fire of every thing of any value within view of the fort, and up to the very muzzles of the guns. The fort was carefully reconnoitred within pistol-shot, and it is easy to perceive, that nothing would have gratified the feelings of the successful soldier more than an act of hostility on the part of the British commandant which would have justified him in carrying the works by storm.

This victory was followed by the treaty of Greeneville, the result of which was a long peace with the Indians, and a considerable accession of valuable territory to the United States; and it accelerated Jay's treaty with Great Britain, by which the posts so unjustifiably held by that power were surrendered. General Wayne did not, however, long enjoy the

honours which the nation and his native state were eager to bestow upon him. After a visit to Pennsylvania, he returned to the west to fulfil his duties as commissioner to treat with the north-western Indians, and to receive the surrender of the military posts yielded up by the British government; and, while descending Lake Erie from Detroit, died from an attack of the gout, at Presque Isle, on the 15th of December, 1796, in the fifty-first year of his age. His remains were removed from their burial-place, on the shore of the lake, by his son, in the year 1809, and conveyed to the burial-ground of Radnor church, in Chester county, where the Pennsylvania State Society of the Cincinnati erected a monument to his memory, with the following inscriptions.

The south front of the monument exhibits the following inscription:

In honour of the distinguished
Military services of
Major-General
ANTHONY WAYNE,
And as an affectionate tribute
Of respect to his memory,
This stone was erected by his
Companions in arms,
The Pennsylvania State Society of
The Cincinnati,
July 4th, A. D. 1809,
Thirty-fourth anniversary of
The Independence of
The United States of America;
An event which constitutes
The most
Appropriate eulogium of an American
Soldier and Patriot.

The north front exhibits the following inscription:

Major-General
ANTHONY WAYNE
Was born at Waynesborough,
In Chester County,
State of Pennsylvania,
A. D. 1745.
After a life of honour and usefulness,
He died, in December, 1796,
At a military post
On the shores of Lake Erie,
Commander-in-chief of the army of
The United States.
His military achievements
Are consecrated
In the history of his country,
And in
The hearts of his countrymen.
His remains
Are here deposited.

MAJOR-GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM.

Israel Putnam was born at Salem, in the state of Massachusetts, on the 7th day of January, 1718. He was a great-grandson of John Putnam, one of the Puritan Pilgrims, who came to this country under the banner of the venerable Endicot. His father, Joseph Putnam, married Miss Elizabeth Porter, and had by her twelve children. He was a farmer, and intended Israel for the same pursuit in life. At that time, none but persons selected for the liberal professions received any other than the education of common schools, in which the arts of reading and writing, and a slender proficiency in the rudiments of arithmetic, were the sole attainments to be acquired. In those good old days, a farmer was more desirous of leaving to his son an example of moral worth, habitual piety, and industrious habits, than heaps of gold, and restless aspirations for offices, for which his limited education in no wise fitted him. Such an example was the bequest of Captain Joseph Putnam to his son Israel, who was more indebted to nature for those endowments, and that undaunted courage, active enterprise, and untiring zeal for the cause he espoused, than to any influences of early mental culture. His constitution was vigorous, and he displayed in the beginning of life that insensibility to danger, and that bold daring, which subsequently signalized his name in the wars of his country.

Of his school days little is known. Here and there an incident has been preserved to prove these traits his own when still a boy, but our space forbids the recounting of them. In the year 1739, at the age of twenty-one, he married Miss Hannah Pope, daughter of Mr. John Pope

of Salem, by whom he had four sons and six daughters. In 1740 he removed from his native place to the town of Pomfret, in Connecticut, where he settled upon a tract of land he had then lately purchased. The habits and modes of life of farmers then were simple and economical, and enabled industry to secure its reward. Love of luxury and the artificial wants of the present day were unknown to the husbandman. His lands were well fenced and carefully cultivated, and his pastures soon exhibited a respectable stock of cattle. Finding certain portions of his property well adapted to grazing, he turned his attention to the cultivation of sheep, and carried on a successful business in the sale of his wool. But he found, in common with his neighbours, that there were other enemies of his flocks than the stubborn winters of that region, and the natural diseases that sometimes thinned their numbers. Wolves prowled about the country, and committed so many depredations that the farmers determined to act in concert to drive them off. It was discovered that a she-wolf was the formidable foe, and against her their united efforts were directed. The story of the pursuit of this wolf, and her subsequent capture and destruction by Putnam, is too well known to require repetition here. It exhibits the fearless daring of our hero, and gives promise of those acts which subsequently illustrated his character and fame.

During the years from 1740 to 1755, Putnam devoted his time and attention to his farm, and by a steady industry succeeded in securing to himself a handsome independence. During this period his benevolence, his frank and candid manners, his courage and integrity, had won for him the most unbounded confidence and esteem. Upon the breaking out of the war between England and France, known as "The Seven Years' War," he was intrusted, without any previous military experience, with the command of a company in the regiment of Connecticut Provincials

He soon found his compliment of men, for his companions and friends willingly flocked to his standard, and they were the flower of the Connecticut yeomanry. It was true they had had no more experience in military matters than their captain; but his known judgment and courage, and their reliance in him and willingness to obey his commands, secured discipline and made them of inestimable value in service.

The regiment to which this company belonged was commanded by General Lyman, but so often was it detached on special and peculiar service that it operated more like an independent corps than a regular company of the regiment. The duty performed was that of rangers, although they were not drafted as such: but it was a duty well suited to the adventure-loving spirit of its captain, who would have pined under the dull routine of camp-service. In the active and perilous enterprises of rangers, in reconnoitering the enemy's camp, surprising their pickets and outposts, capturing detached parties and convoys of supplies, he found himself in a sphere peculiarly suited to his talents, taste and genius. In this contest, wherein the English and French were disputing the mastery of the western continent, we find the Indian tribes, with few exceptions, enlisted on the side of the French. These allies were vexatious and dangerous foes. Familiar with the vast forests, plains, lakes and river banks of the country, accustomed to a wily and stealthy mode of warfare almost unknown to the English, who were also unacquainted with the country in which they were to fight their battles, these Indian tribes became formidable enemies. It required to oppose them men of ingenious, intrepid and unflinching character. Captain Putnam was such a man, and his men were worthy their commander.

The war commenced with vigour in 1755, with General Braddock's unfortunate expedition against Fort Duquesne, and General Shirley's similar expedition against Fort

Niagara; while on the other hand, Sir William Johnson achieved his brilliant victory over Baron Dieskau at Fort Edward. By the time these enterprises had been ended the season had drawn to a close, and the colonial troops having been enlisted only to serve during the campaign, were entitled to their discharge. Captain Putnam returned to his family. It was during this period that he became acquainted with Major Rogers, the celebrated New Hampshire partisan, whose life he preserved in a moment of extreme danger. Notwithstanding such an obligation, and their having been often detached upon the same duty, in his journal, subsequently published in London, (in 1765,) Major Rogers studiously avoids the mention of Putnam's name. The reason for such marked neglect of his companion in arms and the preserver of his life is not stated, but the mind naturally suggests envy or the fear of being himself eclipsed by his noble friend, as the natural and only cause for this unpardonable slight and such base ingratitude.

The campaign re-opened in 1756, when the commission of Captain Putnam was renewed. But the general military operations were even less fortunate than those of the former year. The entire failure of these campaigns must be ascribed to the inaction of the British generals who conducted them. The important fortress of Oswego fell into the hands of the French, nor was there a single attempt to dispossess them of their outposts at Ticonderoga, so that all the expensive and laborious preparations of the British were wholly lost. Yet amid this inactivity and misconduct on the part of the generals, the duties assigned to the rangers gave opportunities for personal adventures that form a relief to the picture.

Captain Putnam on one occasion was ordered to reconnoitre the position of the enemy at the Ovens near Ticonderoga. He took with him his lieutenant, Robert Durkee, a gallant officer, who afterwards distinguished himself in

the revolutionary war. The two partisans proceeded to their duty, but unacquainted with the French custom of setting camp-fires in the centre of the camp instead of in a circle around it, as the English did, they found themselves suddenly in the midst of the enemy, who discovered their approach and immediately saluted them with a discharge of muskets. Durkee received a bullet in his thigh, but notwithstanding this, he was able to join in a precipitate retreat, in which he was very near being killed by his friend. Putnam had fallen into a clay-pit, and Durkee came tumbling in after him; when, supposing him one of the enemy, he raised his knife to stab him, but recognising his voice in time, sheathed it in his scabbard instead of his comrade's body. Amid a shower of bullets they succeeded in reaching a spot of safety, but when Putnam came to offer his canteen of brandy to his wounded companion he discovered that one of the enemy's balls had pierced and emptied it, and his blanket presented no less than fourteen bullet holes received during their escape.

The bold spirit evinced by Captain Putnam in recapturing the baggage and provisions, which had been intercepted at Halfway Brook, between Fort Edward and Lake George, by six hundred of the enemy, exhibits more forcibly the character of the services rendered by him in this war than any other incident. When the news of the disaster was received, he and Rogers were ordered off in pursuit of the enemy. They took with them two wall-pieces and two blunderbusses, with about one hundred men in boats. Their intention was to proceed down the lake, thence to take a line across the land to the narrows, and thus cut off a retreat. They succeeded in reaching the spot before the French with their batteaux, now laden with plunder, had gained it. Unexpectedly they opened a tremendous fire upon them, killed many of the boatmen and sank several of the boats. The rest by a strong wind were swept into South Bay, and thus escaped, to bear the news to

Ticonderoga. Anticipating their return with reinforcements, Putnam and Rogers hastened to their boats, and at Sabbath-day Point they found their expectations had not deceived them, for the French, about three hundred strong, were fast approaching on the lake. When the enemy, expecting an easy victory if not an immediate surrender, had come within pistol shot, the wall-pieces and blunderbusses were unmasked and opened upon them, aided by musketry, producing the most dreadful carnage, and leaving the further retreat of the rangers unmolested.

By such services Putnam became generally known. His insensibility to danger, his caution and sagacity, his presence of mind and ingenuity of stratagem, which gave him power to command his resources at a moment when most needed, made him essential to the operations against the French and their allies. His cheerful spirit, and his readiness to share the hardships and perils of service with his soldiers; his submission to all privations, and his willingness to lead in every adventure of danger, won the hearts of all his subalterns, while he secured by strict obedience to his superiors their esteem and confidence. Although such services were of infinite importance to the protection and support of the cause, they were unfortunately rendered in a sphere, to which general history can allot no place.

In 1757 the legislature of Connecticut conferred on Putnam a major's commission. At this time the Earl of Loudoun was at the head of the military forces of the colonies, and he proved himself one of the most inefficient and imbecile of the British generals who served in America. Although the colonists with a generous effort had supplied him with a numerous force, and enabled him, had he seen fit to avail himself of the means placed at his command, to operate effectively against the enemy, about midsummer he left the scene of action, and with about six thousand troops sailed for Halifax, for the alleged

purpose of joining the reinforcement of five thousand troops brought out by Lord Howe, with which he intended to reduce Louisburg in Cape Breton. Learning however that this place had obtained an augmentation to its garrison, he returned to New York, where he reposed in disgraceful idleness. He left in command at Fort Edward the timid General Webb, and the unfortunate Colonel Monroe at Fort William Henry. The latter post was attacked by the French under the Marquis de Montcalm, and notwithstanding repeated entreaties from Colonel Monroe, General Webb refused to send reinforcements, and recommended him to surrender. The brave but devoted Monroe at last yielded to the necessity of his defenceless position, and while leaving the fort his little band was attacked by the Indians and inhumanly slaughtered. At one time General Webb consented to allow a reinforcement of such of his garrison as would volunteer; but when Major Putnam's rangers offered to fly to the rescue, the imbecile general repented of his permission, and, amid expressions of indignation and grief on the part of this gallant band, had them recalled. Afterward General Lyman was placed in command of Fort Edward, and immediately undertook the improvement of its defences. A small party under Captain Little was at work for this purpose on a tongue of land, bounded on one side by a morass, and on the other by a creek. Major Putnam also commanded a detachment, similarly engaged, on an island near by. A party of Indians had stealthily concealed themselves in the morass near Captain Little's station, and at an unsuspected moment attacked him. The alarm was given, and the labourers, deserting their work, fled towards the fort, where Captain Little by a close and well-timed discharge of musketry arrested the progress of the enemy. But his position became now embarrassing. General Lyman, instead of sending a reinforcement, called in his outposts, and closed the gates of the fort,

leaving Captain Little and his small force to contend against fearful odds. Major Putnam learned the precarious situation of his friend. Leading his men onward to his rescue he plunged into the creek, followed by his rangers who waded gallantly after him. They passed near enough to the fort to hear the commander's peremptory orders to return, but unwilling to have his friend sacrificed Putnam hurried on to his assistance, and soon drove the Indians back into the morass. Although this disobedience to orders was unpardonable in military discipline, yet General Lyman never made mention of it, ashamed, as he probably was, of his dastardly conduct.

The British arms were blessed with better fortune in almost every other quarter of the country, yet in the region of Lake George and Lake Champlain disaster still attended them. The appointment of Mr. Pitt to the ministry inspired new hopes and gave a better spirit to the people, and they were enabled during this season to supply, from Connecticut, Massachusetts and New Hampshire, a force of fifteen thousand men. General Abercromby was placed at the head of military affairs, and proposed to undertake expeditions against Louisburg, against Fort Duquesne, and against Ticonderoga and Crown Point. In this last expedition Major Putnam again exhibited those peculiar traits of strategy and foresight which had already secured to him a prominent position in the army. During the campaigns 1757 and 1758 he was ever called upon to command and execute the most difficult and hazardous enterprises; and he seldom failed to add by his cool daring, presence of mind, and firmness, fresh laurels to those he had already won. At Woodcreek, near the point where it flows into South Bay, with fifty men he attacked a party of the enemy vastly superior in numbers, and by keeping his companions concealed behind a temporary parapet, succeeded in destroying many of them. In his retreat his party were mistaken by a reinforcement sent

to his aid for the enemy and were fired upon, but Putnam, springing forward, made them aware of their error, and reprimanded the detachment for the little execution they had done under the circumstances! as only one man had been wounded. The expedition against Ticonderoga was undertaken in July. It was during the attack on this post, that Lord Howe fell. He was a young nobleman in the prime of life, of eminent virtue, and manly courage, universally esteemed and beloved. His death was severely felt. The whole expedition was unsuccessful, and was attended with great loss to the English. Never was an enterprise so badly conducted or more unfortunate.

During the summer, Major Putnam was surprised while lying in his batteau on the Hudson, near the rapids at Fort Miller, by a party of Indians who suddenly appeared on the shore. To land would have been certain death to the little party, which consisted of but five men. Putnam seemed at once to comprehend the danger of his position, and without a moment's deliberation put his batteau in motion, guiding it towards the rapids. The Indians stood amazed at his temerity, for it seemed certain destruction to descend the stream at this point. Calmly watching the current, Putnam with a firm hand guided his frail bark amid the rocks that every instant threatened to shatter it, and in a few moments it was seen gliding over the smooth waters below, much to the relief of his breathless companions, one of whom had of necessity been left behind and was killed by the Indians. This undertaking inspired the savages with awe, and for a time they believed Putnam to be favoured of the Great Spirit.

In August of this year, however, his good fortune forsook him. In executing the perilous duty of watching the enemy at Ticonderoga, a detachment headed by the French partisan Molang surprised him. He stood his ground manfully, but his fusee, while pressed to the breast of a powerful In-

dian, having missed fire, he was taken prisoner and tied to a tree. Here he was forced to remain inactive, his victor having returned to the battle. After a long and warmly contested struggle, (during which he had been unhappily subjected to the cross-fire of both parties, tied as he was, halfway between the combatants,) the provincials retained possession of the field. The French and their savage allies retreated, taking with them their prisoner. He was dragged onward by his foes, who stripped him of his clothes, his shoes and hat, and forced him to bear the most cruel burdens, while his flesh was incessantly lacerated by the thorns and briers of the woods. One of these savages had struck him with the but-end of his musket, and fractured his jaw, causing excruciating pain, and another had wounded him with a tomahawk in the neck. His sufferings were not ended with this treatment. He had been destined to perish at the stake, and the brutal conquerors had already determined upon inflicting the most cruel torture to add to the bitterness of death. They bound their victim to a tree, naked and covered with wounds, and had already lighted the faggots that were to consume him, when one of them, more humane than the rest, informed Molang of his danger, and this officer rushed to his rescue. Reprimanding the Indians for their barbarity, Molang delivered the prisoner to his captor, that being his right, who now treated him with comparative kindness, though with sufficient cruelty to have overcome a less vigorous constitution. Putnam was carried to Ticonderoga, where he was made known to Montcalm, who had him transferred to Montreal. In this city there were several American prisoners, and among them Colonel Peter Schuyler. This gallant officer, when he heard of Putnam's presence, hastened to visit him, and was so overcome at beholding the noble soldier, without coat, vesting, or stockings, with his body exhibiting marks of cruel violence, that he could hardly contain his indignation. By con-

cealing the major's rank and importance, he succeeded in getting his name included in the cartel when the exchange of prisoners took place, and thus enabled him to return to his home. He took with him the famous Mrs. Howe, whose interesting history is so well known, and in whose welfare Colonel Schuyler took the deepest interest.

The campaign of 1759 again found our hero in the army, now raised to the rank of a lieutenant-colonel. The expedition against Ticonderoga and Crown Point was successfully executed under General Amherst, under whom Putnam served. The victory of Wolfe, and his death under the walls of Quebec, are known. While the arms of the Provincials were crowned with glory, they were shaded by the loss of this gallant soldier. The war terminated in 1760, leaving the French in possession of Montreal, as their only important post. This was subsequently rescued from their hands, and in the enterprise Putnam's ingenuity and daring were again conspicuous.

Although the treaty of Paris, in 1763, had concluded the hostilities between the French and the English, yet the western Indians were not disposed to remain quiet, and an expedition was undertaken against them, in which Putnam commanded the Connecticut troops. The savages were soon overawed, and a treaty was concluded with them.

In 1762, when war was declared between England and Spain, Lieutenant-Colonel Putnam was sent with the Connecticut regiment to Cuba, whence, after suffering shipwreck and the ravages of disease, having successfully, in conjunction with the English, conquered the fortifications of Havana, he returned with a remnant of his army to his country.

Thus ended a war of nearly ten years, during which, by a bravery as unostentatious as it was valuable, and by a combination of qualities rarely met with in one man, Putnam won a name that secured to him in the Revolution the high rank he enjoyed.

In 1764 the stamp-act severed the ties which bound the colonies to the mother country. Putnam was among the foremost in opposition to this odious measure, and had the gratification to see that opposition effective. On the 19th of April, 1775, he was laboring in the field, when news of the battle of Lexington was brought to him by a man who rode through the country, attracting attention by tapping the drum at his side and announcing the commencement of hostilities. Leaving his plough, Putnam detached his horse, mounted, and galloped off to Cambridge, where on the 21st he attended a council of war. The Assembly of his state being then in session, he was summoned to wait upon it for consultation. It bestowed upon him the commission of a brigadier-general, and he immediately returned to Cambridge, leaving orders that all troops enlisted should follow as speedily as possible.

On the 21st of May General Ward was commissioned as major-general and commander-in-chief of the troops of Massachusetts. The head-quarters were at Cambridge: the right wing of the army was at Roxbury, under command of Brigadier-General Thomas; at Medford was the left wing, to which the commands of Colonels Stark and Reed were attached. General Putnam was stationed at Inman's farm, in command of three regiments. The British army consisted of ten thousand men.

During the month of May General Putnam undertook to remove the cattle from the islands in the harbour of Boston, in order to cut off the enemy's supplies. General Warren accompanied him, and the enterprise was successful. This gave the American troops confidence, and infused a good spirit throughout their ranks. The committee of safety, on hearing of the intention on the part of the British to occupy the heights of Dorchester and Charlestown, recommended to the council of war to occupy Bunker Hill, at Charlestown, as speedily as possible. For this purpose, a thousand men under the command of Colo-

nel Prescott assembled at Cambridge on the 16th of June, and proceeded at night to take possession of these heights. General Putnam accompanied the detachment.

The plan was to occupy Bunker Hill, but Breed's Hill, the most easterly height, having command of the former, it was resolved, under advice of General Putnam, to fortify that position. Whatever may have been said of General Putnam's supervision of these fortifications, and of his not even having been present on the 17th of June, it seems now, after a full investigation of the facts, that with Colonel Prescott he superintended them in person, oftentimes taking the spades and pickaxes from the men, to work with his own hands; and that he performed a very distinguished and perilous part in the battle which succeeded. After the full accounts given of this event, it is needless to enter into details. General Putnam was there, and General Warren volunteered his services, and even offered to receive the orders of Putnam, who recommended him to the redoubt where Colonel Prescott was stationed. In this most important conflict, in which the brave and lamented Warren fell, Putnam was the only general officer in command, and the battle seems to have been conducted under his guidance; nor is it too much to say, that most of the influence exercised by its results may be ascribed to his courage, zeal, and indefatigable efforts.

On the 15th of June, Washington was unanimously elected commander-in-chief of the American army by Congress, and Ward, Lee, Schuyler, and Putnam, were elected major-generals. Washington reached Cambridge on the 2d of July, and then first became acquainted with Putnam, of whom he subsequently ever entertained a high opinion, declaring that he was "a most valuable man, and a fine executive officer." On the evacuation of Boston by the British, Putnam was placed in command of the city, where he remained until the 29th of March of the next year, when he was ordered to take command of

159

New York, and to complete the defences of the city, commenced by General Lee. It was believed that the British would attack this point and endeavour to get control of the Hudson to open a communication with Canada. General Putnam, with an assiduity and perseverance peculiar to his vigorous mind, devoted himself to the preparations necessary to preserve the post, and in such a manner as to win the confidence of Washington. As the safety of New York depended on the possession of Long Island, fortifications were marked out and commenced under the supervision of General Greene, who had made himself well acquainted with the routes, roads, and posts by which the British would advance on Brooklyn.

This important knowledge was known only to Greene, but when the British landed and commenced their advance, that officer was suddenly taken ill, and the command devolved on General Sullivan. General Putnam, on the 23d of August, was ordered to the chief command; but it was too late for these officers to make themselves acquainted with the whole plan of fortifications and positions, and when on the 27th the battle actually commenced, the left wing of our army was suddenly outflanked at Bedford by General Clinton, and the rear of it gained before any knowledge of the danger could be imparted to General Sullivan, who was repelling the attack made by De Heister on the centre. When, however, the movement of General Clinton became known, the troops under Sullivan finding themselves liable to be attacked in the front and rear at the same moment, broke and fled, leaving their commander a prisoner. Our army now fell back on Brooklyn, whence it was withdrawn without the knowledge of the British during the night of the 29th of August, to the city of New York. General Putnam again resumed the command of the city, but on the 12th of September, it being no longer tenable, it was

resolved to evacuate it. Soon after this some British ships ascended the Hudson, as far as Bloomingdale, while Sir Henry Clinton landed four thousand troops on the eastern side of the island at Kipp's bay. General Putnam now saw that if these two forces should form a communication across the island, his division would be sacrificed. Sir Henry Clinton put his men in motion, while Putnam was urging on his troops by the Bloomingdale route. It was a moment of peril, but Putnam's strategy again came to his aid. The enemy were obliged to pass under Murray Hill, where resided a Mrs. Murray, a Quakeress, but devoted to the cause. Sir Henry Clinton having the start, Putnam knew that unless he could detain him his retreat must inevitably be cut off. He sent his aid to Mrs. Murray, requested her to offer Sir Henry and his troops some refreshment, and detain them as long as she could. This plot succeeded. The British, not aware of the proximity of Putnam's division, tarried an hour at the old lady's mansion, and when they proceeded on their way they beheld the Americans turning on the northern side of the hill, and winding their way into the Bloomingdale plains. The want of troops and means of defence, compelled Washington finally to withdraw through New Jersey, and on the 8th of December, 1776, he crossed the Delaware, to prevent the enemy from gaining possession of Philadelphia. It was of vital importance to our cause that this post should be defended, and no better proof of the confidence reposed in Putnam could be given, than his being placed in command at such a critical moment.

Washington now prepared for his attack upon the British at Trenton. It was his intention to order General Putnam to join him, but fear of an insurrection among the Royalists made his presence essential in Philadelphia, and he was deprived of any share in that victory. On the 5th of January, 1777, however, he was ordered to

New Jersey, where the British forces at New Brunswick and Amboy were in winter quarters. He passed the remainder of the winter at Princeton, having achieved his object in forcing the British to concentrate their forces. It was necessary to conceal his want of troops from the enemy, for he could only number a few hundred men in his command. This was no easy task, for he was but fifteen miles distant from their quarters. On one occasion he was sorely puzzled how to act. Captain McPherson, a Scotch officer, who had been wounded at the battle of Princeton, still lay in a precarious situation in the town. While his recovery was considered doubtful, he requested permission to send for a friend in the British army, at Brunswick, that he might confide to him some testamentary matters of great importance. To allow one of the enemy to enter his outposts would be to show the meagre extent of his force; and to refuse seemed cruel. He finally consented, but on the condition that this friend should come at night. An officer was despatched to Brunswick to conduct him to McPherson's chamber. It was after dark before they reached Princeton. General Putnam had the College hall and all vacant houses lighted up, and while the two friends were closeted had his men marched rapidly before the house, and around the quarters of the captain, with great pomp and bustle; and repeated this manœuvre several times, to give an impression of a strong force. It was afterwards reported to the enemy by the captain's friend, that our troops could not number less than five thousand, if he might judge of the number by what he heard and saw.

The purposes of the British generals, Burgoyne and Howe, not being known, it was impossible to prepare for any particular attack; but Washington deemed the points of Ticonderoga, Philadelphia, and the Highlands on the Hudson, all-important, and though our troops were inadequate to the task, yet the defence of these posts was un-

dertaken. Putnam was ordered to the Highlands, and stationed himself at Peekskill, where he remained from May until October. He devoted his attention to the different fortifications on the river, having his forces frequently reduced by orders to send detachments in different directions, as the movements of the British army became known. On the 5th of October Sir Henry Clinton, under the cover of a fog, succeeded in surprising forts Clinton and Montgomery, and gaining possession of them. In consequence of this disaster, forts Independence and Constitution were abandoned, and General Putnam retired to Fishkill. He succeeded, however, in regaining Peekskill and the mountain passes, and learned after the surrender of Burgoyne, that the British had retired again to New York.

Washington was at this time in the vicinity of Philadelphia, where the British were in possession with ten thousand men. Colonel Hamilton, Washington's aid, repaired to Putnam's camp, and ordered him to send forward a brigade which he had received from the north after Burgoyne's surrender. This order was not immediately obeyed, and gave rise to a severe letter from Hamilton to General Putnam, which the latter, deeming the tone improper, transmitted to Washington. The letter was approved of by Washington, and seems to be the only instance in which General Putnam met the displeasure of the commander-in-chief. After the withdrawal of the British, Putnam moved down the river, and took post at New Rochelle, on the west side of the Sound, about twenty-five miles from New York, but in December was ordered back to the Highlands, where he spent the winter. It was during this winter, that Putnam, in conformity with orders received from Washington, under date of January 25th, 1778, gave his attention to the rebuilding of the forts in the Highlands which had been destroyed by the British. West Point was the site selected

by him; and during the month of January the ground was broken for the erection of this fortification. During this year inquiry was made into the losses of Forts Clinton and Montgomery, but Putnam was relieved of all blame.

One circumstance should be mentioned here; we mean the wonderful escape at Horseneck. While General Putnam was visiting during the winter one of his out-posts at West Greenwich, Governor Tryon was undertaking an excursion against that post with about fifteen hundred men. Putnam had but fifty. With these few he stationed himself near the meeting-house on the brow of a very steep declivity. Here he received the attack of the British with a discharge from his artillery, but perceiving Tryon's dragoons about to charge, he ordered his men to retreat to the swamp behind the hill, where no cavalry could follow, while he urged his horse directly down the precipice, to the astonishment of the enemy, who followed him to the edge of the perilous descent. This declivity has since borne the name of Putnam's Hill.

General Putnam was superintending the new works in the Highlands until the winter of 1779, when he visited his family, but on his return was unexpectedly attacked by paralysis, by which he lost the use of his limbs on one side. He never recovered, although he lived till May 19, 1790.

The inscription upon his tomb, from the pen of his friend, Dr. Dwight, gives the best summary of his character. He speaks of him as a hero who dared to lead where any dared to follow; as a patriot who rendered gallant and distinguished services to his country; as a man whose generosity was singular, whose honesty was proverbial, and who raised himself to universal esteem, and offices of eminent distinction, by personal worth and a useful life.

MAJ. GEN. H. GATES.

Horatio Gates

MAJOR-GENERAL HORATIO GATES.

Horatio Gates was born in England, in the year 1728. His tastes in youth impelled him strongly to the profession of arms, and at an early age he entered the military service of Great Britain. Although he was unaided by those advantages of birth and influence, which in too many cases supply the want of personal worth, yet he soon became favourably known. War is no pastime, and at this period in her history England needed men of merit for her service. The man who did his duty in the field and the council, seldom failed to gain his appropriate reward. Gates rose rapidly to the rank of major, and was looked upon by his superiors as one destined to a brilliant career in his chosen life.

After the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, a brief season of repose was enjoyed by the armies of France and Britain. But this treaty rested upon a foundation which would not long stand. It was dishonouring to England and tempting to her rival. Few men believed that it would be permanent, and the wise and peaceable regretted that a renewal of war had been rendered inevitable by the injudicious terms upon which peace had been settled. During this short season of tranquillity, Gates was stationed with his regiment at Halifax. America had become an object equally interesting to both of the contending parties, and as each felt that here must be the scene of the next great struggle for power, each endeavoured to maintain upon her soil a heavy force of armed men.

The first blood in the war was shed in Virginia, at the battle of the Great Meadows, and immediately afterwards Europe was once more engaged in a contest, in which,

as usual, England and France were the chief opposing actors.

When General Braddock's army landed in Virginia, and prepared for the memorable expedition against Fort Duquesne, Gates joined it with his regiment, and was present during all of its subsequent course. It would be painful to dwell upon the history of a march and a battle, among the most disastrous that a civilized army was ever engaged in. While the work of death was going on upon the Monongahela, the British officers were conspicuous for their gallantry and self-devotion. How many of them fell victims to their efforts to restore the fortune of the day, has often been told.

The Indians recognised them without difficulty, and made them special marks for their rifles. Sixty-three were either killed or wounded. During the heat of the contest, Gates received a severe wound, and was with difficulty brought off from the field, where so many of his comrades were left to die beneath the scalping-knife of the savages.

This wound was so dangerous that, for a long time, he was confined to his bed, and was unable to take part in the campaign which reflected so much honour upon the arms of his country. As soon as he was sufficiently recovered, he rejoined his regiment, and was present in, at least, one action of importance, before the peace of Paris. The West India Islands, held by France, had often been looked upon with eager eyes by the English ministry, and a strong naval and military force hovered around them, and threatened their capture. Martinico was the most important of these islands to the northern country. Its products were abundant, and merchant ships were in constant passage to bear them to ports in France. So much was its capture desired by the English, that in 1759 a fleet had approached its borders, designing to land troops to attack it, but the defences were then so heavy that the

attempt was abandoned. England has seldom resigned a prey upon which her gaze has once been fixed.

In January, 1762, a fleet of eighteen ships of the line approached the island, under the command of Admiral Rodney. The land forces were under General Monckton, to whom Major Gates was aid. The whole number of men engaged in this enterprise was not less than twelve thousand. The natural defences of the island were strong. It was mountainous in parts, and broken into deep and rugged ravines, covered with wood. The eminences were fortified with all the skill of French engineers, and besides a large force of regular soldiers the militia of the island were brave and well disciplined.

Two fortified hills opposed the strongest obstacles to the progress of the English. Morne Tortenson was nearest to the port of landing, and Morne Garnier, farther in the interior, defended the approach to Fort Royal and to St. Pierre, the capital of the island. These two eminences were to be carried before any decisive impression could be made. The English land forces advanced with steadiness along the beach, towards the first hill; the artillery covered the light troops, and a thousand sailors, in flat-bottomed boats, rowed close to the shore to aid the division. After a sharp struggle, Morne Tortenson was carried; but the greatest difficulty yet remained. Garnier was obstinately defended, and three days were employed in erecting batteries to drive the garrison from their post. But in the midst of these preparations, the impetuous courage of the French compelled them to hazard an attack. In solid columns they issued from Fort Royal, and poured down from Morne Garnier upon the advanced posts of the enemy. The assault was firmly received, but overpowered by numbers the outer guard gave way, and the French began to hope for victory. But the main body of the English army rushing forward to support their companions, bore down the advancing columns, and

repulsed them with much loss. The militia dispersed into the country—the regulars retreated into the town—all the redoubts were carried, nor did the British troops stop until they had gained the top of Morne Garnier, and driven the garrison from their guns. This advantage was decisive of the fate of the island. Without waiting for the batteries of the Mount to open, Fort Royal capitulated on the 4th of February, and a few days afterwards Martinico fell into the hands of the English. In this hazardous enterprise Major Gates rendered efficient service to his commander, and his reputation as a brave and prudent officer was considered as well established.

After the peace of Paris, in 1763, English armies again had a season of rest from active duty. It was at this time that many British officers settled in the American colonies, and became identified with their interests. We do not know with certainty in what year Major Gates came to Virginia, but long before the commencement of the Revolution he was an inhabitant of her soil. He purchased a fine body of land in the county of Berkeley, west of the Blue Ridge, and devoted himself with success to agricultural pursuits. He was respected and beloved by his neighbours. His manners were easy and courteous, and by frequent exhibitions of a generous disposition he gained the esteem of all. His person was remarkable for grace and dignity. In middle life he was a very handsome man, though afterwards a tendency to corpulency manifested itself. His services in arms were not forgotten, and an occasion only was wanted to call him again to the field.

When the revolutionary war was at length fully opened, he embraced the cause of his adopted country, and tendered himself to Congress as one willing to serve in the armies of America. In 1775, he joined Washington, at Cambridge, as his adjutant, and held also the rank of brigadier. It was at this time that the first symptoms

of dissatisfaction with the commander-in-chief were shown in the conduct of his subordinate. Ambition was the controlling power of the life of Gates. This quality may be truly said to be the characteristic of noble minds; when it is modified and restrained by virtue and patriotism it becomes the parent of great deeds and exalted success, but when it reigns paramount, it seldom fails to degrade its subjects by urging them to doubtful courses for gaining their ends. Gates was anxious to obtain a separate command as brigadier-general, but when he made known his wishes to Washington, that prudent chief thought it best to decline acceding to his request. He acted upon reasons not unjust to his aid, and satisfactory to himself, but his refusal inflicted a wound which was not soon healed. In the subsequent events of the war correspondence sometimes occurred between the two generals, and Washington felt that he had cause to complain of "an air of design, a want of candour in many instances, and even of politeness," in the missives received from his inferior.

Gates had many admirers in Congress, and friends were not wanting to bring him prominently before his country. After the death of the heroic Montgomery at Quebec, and the subsequent disasters which gradually drove the Americans from all the posts they had gained in Canada, their reduced army, under General Sullivan, was posted along the line of Lake Champlain between Ticonderoga and Crown Point. Privation, famine and sickness had caused their numbers rapidly to decline. From seven thousand and six effective men, they were speedily brought down to about three thousand, and these were very inadequately supplied with the munitions of war. General Sullivan exerted himself with commendable zeal in correcting the errors which had produced their misfortunes, and if he wrought nothing brilliant, he at least stopped the progress of disaster. In June, 1776, General Gates was appointed to the command of the Northern army. When he reached

the spot where most of the troops were concentrated, he found the small-pox raging among them, and daily reducing the number who could be relied upon for active service. The quantity of powder for use was unequal to the demands of a campaign, and pressed by these and similar difficulties, he adopted a measure, the expediency of which was soon called seriously into question. Withdrawing the whole American force which had been stationed at Crown Point, he concentrated his army at Ticonderoga. The effect of this was to leave the navigation of Lake Champlain almost undisputed to the English, and to expose the eastern border of New York to their invasion. Whether the exigencies of his condition required this step it is not now easy to decide, but it is certain that experienced officers condemned it, and Washington thought it highly injudicious. The enemy did not long hesitate to avail themselves of the advantages thus afforded to them. Their fleet traversed the lake undisturbed, and finding that his sources of supply were threatened, Gates determined to oppose a naval force to the English armament on Champlain. Arnold was appointed to the command of the American flotilla. The two fleets encountered each other, and though the republican leader and his half-trained mariners displayed desperate valour, they were overcome in the conflict, and only saved their principal vessels from capture, by running them ashore and blowing them up by means of slow matches, after their crews had abandoned them.

After a few months Gates again joined the commander-in-chief, and the Northern army was assigned to General Schuyler. And now commenced that memorable enterprise, in which England hoped to crush the spirit of America and reduce her to submission, but which, in its results, was destined to revive the hopes of every patriot heart. A splendid army was prepared, that it might descend from the lakes, and subduing all intermediate opposi-

tion, might finally establish communication with the English general in New York, and bind the northern colonies in military chains. General Burgoyne had been chiefly active in urging the ministry to commence this enterprise, and he was placed in its command with the entire concurrence of the ruling powers. Full British and German regiments, amounting in all to seven thousand men, engaged in the expedition. They were admirably disciplined, armed, and accoutred. Besides these, a train of artillery, more powerful and complete than any that had ever followed a similar army, contributed to its appearance and efficiency. Discarding the merciful policy of Sir Guy Carleton, Burgoyne invited the fiercest Indian tribes of the north to join his standard, and though, in his address to them, he urged them to abandon some of their savage practices, yet his proclamation to the people of Vermont and New York breathed a spirit of cruelty which roused rather than intimidated those who heard them. High in hope and courage, the British army advanced from Crown Point to Ticonderoga, and crossing to Fort Independence, commenced its descent into Vermont.

General Schuyler did all to oppose the progress of Burgoyne that his limited means and the wretched state of his troops would permit, but his efforts were vain. The advance of the enemy was steady. Post after post fell into their hands, nor did they meet even with a temporary reverse until a detachment of their army encountered the brave "Green Mountain Boys" at Bennington.

At this crisis, the eyes of Congress were turned upon General Gates. He was looked to as the man best fitted to inspire renewed confidence into the dispirited lines of the provincial forces, and to oppose, by his military skill, the veterans of the English army. He was appointed to the command of the North, and though General Schuyler was deeply mortified at being superseded at the very time

when his prudent measures were beginning to involve the enemy in trouble, yet he was too pure a patriot to spread discord in the army at a time so critical and dangerous. On the 21st of August, Gates arrived and assumed direction of affairs: new levies of militia were constantly reaching his camp at Stillwater, and each day added to the strength of his army and its confidence in its commander.

In the mean time, the situation of the British general began to grow perplexing. Having with immense labour brought forward thirty days' provisions from Fort George, he determined to cross the Hudson and fight his way to Albany, in order to open communication with New York. But he soon found that this step was one that involved him in difficulty, for which all his wisdom and courage could provide no remedy. Before him, was the army of Gates, now amounting to more than ten thousand men, well posted, high in spirit, and resolved to contest every foot of his progress. Behind him ran the broad Hudson, to cross which again, in the face of a powerful foe, would have subjected him to severe loss. The safety of his army required him to advance, and finding the enemy prepared to meet him, he formed for battle.

The conflict of the 19th of September was obstinate and bloody, the British retained their ground, but in the open field the patriots had met them, and by their unaided valour had prevented their farther progress. Early in October, Burgoyne found it necessary to lessen the rations of his men, and a careful calculation convinced him that he could not supply his army more than a few weeks longer. He determined to risk another battle at Saratoga. The 7th of October was as fatal to his hopes as it was exhilarating to the Americans. The British regulars, though successful in several desperate charges, were at last repulsed with much slaughter. Many guns were captured. General Frazer was mortally wounded, and so much were the

patriots excited by their successes, that they fiercely assaulted the camp, led on by the impetuous Arnold, and nothing but a wound received by their leader prevented them from achieving a complete victory.

Burgoyne was now driven to extremity. Hemmed in on every side, he could not make his escape without piercing the lines of the enemy, and repeated attempts had convinced him that this hope was vain. General Lincoln had reached the American camp with a reinforcement of two thousand troops from New England. The English were watched with ceaseless vigilance; each effort to obtain supplies was arrested; every movement to save themselves by retreat was the signal for a ruinous attack, which reduced their force and damped their courage. Submission became inevitable, but, to the last moment, Burgoyne persisted in acting upon the defensive. Nor until he found that bread for a single day was all that remained in his camp, did he consent to open negotiations for a surrender. General Gates determined to hazard nothing by undue confidence or delay. He was courteous but firm in his answers to the terms proposed, and on the 17th of October, he drew up his army in order, and informed General Burgoyne that he must either sign the articles or prepare for battle. The capitulation was then signed. It was entitled "Convention between Lieutenant-general Burgoyne and Major-general Gates." In accordance with its terms, the British troops marched out in the presence of the adverse army and laid down their arms upon the field. Five thousand seven hundred and ninety-one prisoners were thus gained by the Americans, besides forty-two splendid brass cannon, four thousand six hundred muskets, and an immense quantity of cartridges, bombs, balls, and other implements of war.

The news of this great event spread like an electric shock through the country. Joy and triumph pervaded every patriot bosom. It seemed at last as though the

cause of freedom were destined to success. When Colonel Wilkinson entered the Hall of Congress and in brief terms announced the result, that body immediately voted thanks to General Gates and his army. They voted also, that a gold medal should be prepared for him, bearing on one side the inscription, "Horatio Gates duci strenuo," and on the other, a representation of General Burgoyne in the act of delivering his sword. All hearts beat with emotions of gratitude to the man who had conducted their country's arms to a triumph so decisive.

It is at this point in his history that we behold with sorrow the gathering of that cloud which must always rest upon the fame of this distinguished man. There can be little doubt that he yielded to the whispers of ambition and the flattery of the injudicious, and at least connived at an attempt made to supersede Washington in the supreme command of the American army. It cannot give us pleasure to dwell upon this plot. General Conway was the prime mover, and Mifflin and Gates were the only other general officers intrusted with the secret. Through the firmness of some patriots, whose virtue was tempted, the cabal failed of success, and its disgrace speedily recoiled upon the heads of its authors.

But a strong party in Congress was favourable to the pretensions of Gates, and though they were unable to invest him with the highest command, they determined that he should occupy a position next in dignity and almost independent. After the capture of Charleston, the enemy overran the Carolinas with their armies. A general seemed needed, whose very name would inspire hopes of victory, and Gates was appointed to the southern command. As he passed through Fredericksburg in Virginia, it is said that he had an interview with General Charles Lee, and that after parting with him that eccentric officer uttered the well-known prophecy, "His northern laurels will soon be covered over with the southern wil-

low." He reached the camp on Deep River the 25th day of July. He found himself at the head of about three thousand six hundred troops, consisting principally of militia; the whole number of regulars not exceeding nine hundred, under the command of the brave Baron De Kalb. Lord Cornwallis had reached Camden, with an army of two thousand efficient soldiers, consisting of seventeen hundred infantry and three hundred cavalry. Not having certain information as to the force of the republicans, and depending upon the quality of his own men, he determined to advance and force Gates to battle. At the same time, by a strange coincidence, the American general had come to a similar resolve, and each army was put in motion at night with the hope of surprising its adversary. Before daybreak, the advanced squadrons met, and a sharp firing took place without decided effect. Finding themselves thus unexpectedly in contact, the two generals, by a common impulse, suspended the fight and waited for the morning. With the return of day the conflict was renewed, and in the very moment of closing, Gates unhappily directed a total change of position for a part of his militia force. Undisciplined troops can never with safety execute a lateral movement in the face of a foe pressing upon them. Lord Cornwallis availed himself of this error, and directed Lieutenant-colonel Webster to charge. The Virginia militia faltered for a moment, and then turning their backs shamefully fled. Vain were all efforts of their gallant general, Stevens, to restore them; the panic diffused itself through the ranks; the North Carolina troops followed the inglorious example, and in a short time the whole force of militia was in rout and confusion. Amid the rush of retreating hundreds, General Gates was borne from the scene. The English pressed upon the fugitives and cut down many in the flight, who by courage on the field might have turned the fortunes of the day.

Far different was the conduct of the Continentals on

this fatal day. They stood to their posts with invincible courage, and repulsed each attack of the enemy. Encouraged by the presence and the voice of De Kalb, they opposed their bayonets alike to the charge of infantry and the impetuous assaults of Tarleton and his dragoons. Could courage alone have gained the day, they would have won a signal triumph, but they were borne down by numbers. The hero who led them received eleven wounds and sank upon the field, which, though dishonoured by the defeat of Americans, is yet invested with sacred interest, when we remember that it was moistened by the blood of De Kalb.

The unfortunate battle of Camden terminated the military career of General Gates. He was removed from command and suspended from service until inquiry should be had as to his conduct. His sensitive disposition deeply felt the disgrace he had encountered, but his conduct under this afflicting stroke was dignified and manly. As he passed through Richmond in Virginia, the Legislature passed a resolution expressing their sympathy in his misfortune and their unabated confidence in his patriotism and skill. It was at this time, also, that he received a letter from Washington, which called from his heart expressions of the deepest feeling. He was seen to hold it open in his hand and often to press it firmly to his lips, while he repeatedly exclaimed, "Great man! Noble, generous procedure!" This letter contained assurances of the most sincere sympathy, and informed him that so soon as the favourable decision of the court of inquiry should be made, he would appoint him to the command of the right wing of the army.

He retired to his farm in Berkeley county, where for some years he remained an interested spectator of the closing events of the war. In 1783 he was restored to his command, but at this time the Revolutionary struggle was over. In 1790, he removed to the city of New York,

but before leaving Virginia he generously emancipated all his slaves, and made ample provision for those who, because of age or infirmity, could not support themselves. On reaching New York he was presented with the freedom of the city, and in the year 1800 he was elected a member of the State Legislature, although it is supposed he did not serve, his object having been fully accomplished by his election.

General Gates died on the 10th day of April, 1806, in the seventy-ninth year of his age. He was a man of warm and generous affections and of most courteous and fascinating manners. He was a fine classical scholar. His tastes led him to seek the society of the more refined, but he was friendly to all, and as a master he had no superior. If he was ambitious, and if his ambition betrayed him into one great fault, he dearly atoned for it, and we have reason to believe bitterly lamented it. He was a steady friend of independence, of which we find the strongest proof in his eloquent letter to the Earl of Thanet, written a short time after the surrender of Burgoyne, and in no one act of his life can we detect the slightest infidelity to that country whose cause he had adopted, and in gaining whose freedom he had borne a distinguished, and considering his abilities as a leader, on the whole a successful, part.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL JETHRO SUMNER.

Jethro Sumner was among the most active inhabitants of North Carolina in preparing for the Revolution, which he on an early day perceived was inevitable. By the Provincial Congress, which met at Halifax on the 4th of April, 1776, he was appointed colonel of the third regiment, and on the 9th of January, 1779, he was appointed a brigadier-general in the continental service.

187

MAJOR-GENERAL WILLIAM, EARL OF STIRLING.

WILLIAM ALEXANDER, better known by his title of Lord Stirling, was born at the city of New York, in the year 1726. His father, James Alexander, was a native of Scotland, who took refuge, in this country, in 1716, in consequence of the part he had taken in favour of the Pretender, the year previous. He seems to have joined the standard of that royal adventurer, rather from national than political predilection; for his family connections were Whigs, and it was through their interest that he obtained employment, on his arrival at New York, in the office of the secretary of the province. He had served in Scotland as an officer of engineers; and his mathematical acquirements, which were extensive and profound, recommended him to the appointment of surveyor-general of New Jersey and New York. His leisure he devoted to the study of the law, in the practice of which he attained, according to Mr. Smith the historian, "great eminence, from his profound legal knowledge, sagacity, and penetration." In 1720 he became a member of the provincial council, and proved himself, throughout a political career continuing until his death, a zealous, enlightened, and staunch adherent to liberal principles, and finally lost his life by repairing to Albany, when suffering from severe illness, to oppose a ministerial project oppressive to the colony.* He was not less eminent as a man of science, than as a lawyer and a patriot. With Dr. Franklin and others, he founded the American Philosophical Society; and he maintained a correspondence with the astronomer royal at

* Smith's History of New York, vol. 2, p. 281, ed. 1830.

Greenwich, and with several learned mathematicians on the European continent, on subjects of their common pursuits. He died in 1756, leaving an ample fortune, the reward of his industry, talents, and integrity.

To his only son, the subject of this memoir, he gave the best education which the country at that time afforded, besides personal instruction in the exact sciences, in which the latter became almost as great a proficient as his father. The mother, also, was an extraordinary person. At the time of her marriage with Mr. Alexander, she was a widow, engaged extensively in commercial business, which she had pursued as the successor of her first husband, and continued on her separate account after her second marriage. The son, early in life, became first her clerk and afterwards her co-partner; and the firm having obtained a contract for the supply of the king's troops, the junior partner joined the commissariat of the army. The military spirit he displayed in the field, in addition to the punctual performance of his civil duties, attracted the notice of the commander-in-chief, General Shirley, who invited him to join his staff, as aid-de-camp and private secretary. In this capacity he served for three severe campaigns on the Canadian frontier, in the war, which, though not formally declared in Europe until 1756, commenced on this continent several years before.

Upon General Shirley's recall, his secretary accompanied him to England, to assist in the settlement of his accounts, and vindicate, by his testimony, the conduct of his commander. He was accordingly examined as a witness on his behalf at the bar of the House of Commons, in April, 1757; and his evidence tended materially to the justification of his former commander. By the candour and intelligence with which it was delivered, he won for himself the marked approbation of the House, which led to his introduction to several of the most conspicuous public characters in Great Britain. It appears from his correspondence

that he soon gained their esteem and confidence, as upon further intercourse they became convinced of the justice of his views, and the candour of his representations in regard to the mutual interests of the mother country and her colonies, as well as attracted by his personal and social accomplishments.

His father, when he quitted Scotland, was known to be the presumptive heir to the earldom of Stirling. On the death, however, of its possessor in 1737, without male issue, James Alexander forbore, not only from the circumstances under which he had quitted the land of his birth, but from his want of fortune and the ties he had formed in that of his choice, to prefer his claim to a title, which, under no circumstances, could have possessed much attraction for one of his moderate views and philosophical temper. With his son the case was different; his paternal inheritance had been increased by marriage,* so that independently of his expectations from his mother, his fortune was sufficient for the support of a Scotch peerage. But he was impelled by more prudential motives than the mere acquisition of a title, to substantiate his claim.

The estates in Scotland of a former Earl of Stirling had been sequestrated for the payment of his debts. But there remained large tracts of land in America, held under grants from James I. to the first earl, which, from their remoteness and inconsiderable value at that period, had escaped the sequestration. William Alexander was encouraged to believe that if he could establish his right to the succession, the family estates still in possession of the crown would be restored to him. Having obtained the opinion of Mr. Wedderburne† in London, and of the most eminent counsel in Edinburgh in favour of his claim,

* He had married Sarah, the eldest daughter of Philip Livingston, proprietor of the manor of that name.

† Afterwards Lord Chancellor, and raised to the peerage, first as Baron Loughborough, and afterwards, on his retirement, as Earl of Rosslyn.

he repaired to the latter city and remained there a year, engaged in collecting, with the aid of an able solicitor,* the testimony requisite for its judicial assertion. In this he succeeded, by proving, before the proper local tribunal, his descent from John Alexander, an uncle of the first earl, and his collateral propinquity as next male heir to the last. By the Scottish law, which differs in this respect from the law of England, a grant or patent not expressly limited to heirs male in the direct line, inures to the benefit not only of collateral descendants from the original grantee, but, in their default, devolves on the nearest male-heir-general in the collateral line. The counsel of Mr. Alexander were of opinion that the legislative union between England and Scotland had wrought no change in this respect in the law of the latter kingdom, and that his right, therefore, to the peerage resulted from his having, in due form of law, proved his relationship as collateral heir-male-general to the late earl. By their advice he immediately assumed the title, and from that time continued ever after to use and receive it, not merely in the ordinary intercourse of private society, but in his correspondence with the ministers of the crown, and their subordinate officials, both in Great Britain and her colonies. But the Duke of Newcastle, then prime minister, conceived it proper that Lord Stirling should petition the House of Lords to recognise his title. To this, by the advice of his counsel in Scotland, seconded by the remonstrances against it by some Scottish peers of his acquaintance, he at first objected; but to avoid giving offence to those upon whose favour he depended for the restoration of his territorial rights, he eventually consented. He petitioned accordingly, but while the matter was pending, he was recalled to New York by the death of his mother.

* Andrew Stuart, the friend and associate of Adam Smith, Hume, Robertson, and other eminent literary characters in Scotland.

When he left England, it was his intention again to repair thither and await the issue of his petition; but the unusual length of his passage out rendered his return incompatible with the personal attention required by his affairs in America. The proceedings on his petition were suffered to languish, and the last heard of the subject was its postponement to the next session of parliament. Nothing, however, was ever done in relation to it then or since, and the peerage still remains vacant, although other claimants have appeared and failed to make good their pretensions.

We have dwelt longer on this subject than its importance may have seemed to require; but our purpose was to vindicate the memory of Lord Stirling, not merely from the aspersions of enemies, who have represented him as a usurper of honours to which he had neither title nor pretence, but from the tacit acquiescence of professing friends, who in their imperfect records even of his public services have failed to do justice to his private character. We gladly turn to the subsequent portion of a life devoted to objects more worthy of pursuit and of attainment.

Upon the return of Lord Stirling to his native country, he gave himself with new zeal to her concerns. He had succeeded his father as surveyor-general of New Jersey, and he now busied himself in collecting materials for a new map of North America. Further evidence of his scientific employments at this period is preserved in the library of the Historical Society of New York, in a manuscript account of an observation of a transit of Venus, which he made for the purpose of verifying the longitude of New York. As a governor of King's, now Columbia College, he exerted his influence with the Earl of Bute, Lord Romney, and others of his powerful friends among the patrons of learning in England, to procure an endowment for that institution, then languishing in its infancy. He had upon his arrival resumed his residence in New York. Not long afterwards he commenced building at

Baskenridge, upon an extensive property which his father had acquired as a proprietary of East Jersey. Upon the completion of his house, he made that place his summer residence, and eventually his permanent abode.

Soon after his removal, he was chosen a member of the Provincial Council, and continued to hold that office until the Revolution. In the public duties it devolved on him, in addition to those of surveyor-general—and in others assumed with the laudable object of adding to what was then known of the geography of this continent—he employed his time usefully to his country, and honourably to himself, whilst his leisure was spent in the enlightened efforts of a landed proprietor, solicitous at once to raise the value of his estates, and to promote the prosperity and happiness of all about him. He exercised a generous hospitality, and maintained an extensive correspondence both at home and abroad. Upon the appointment of the Earl of Shelburne, afterwards Marquis of Lansdowne, to preside at the Board of Trade and Plantations, Lord Stirling addressed to him a letter, containing an account of his occupations, and suggesting measures for promoting the welfare of the colonies, and rendering them more conducive to the mutual prosperity of the mother country and to themselves. "The wants," he observes, "of these provinces, and their increasing population, must at all events greatly increase the manufactures of the mother country. The suppression of such branches of trade as interfere with the importation from Great Britain, and the encouragement of such a cultivation in the colonies as will supply her with raw materials, for which she now pays millions to foreign nations, is a work that must render the value of this continent to Great Britain inestimable." He then alludes to his projects for the manufacture of iron, and the cultivation of hemp and introduction of the vine, and observes that "the maturing these plans, settling a farm in the wilderness, and

bringing to it some of the productions and improvements of Europe, are my present employments. They have taken place," he says, "of the pleasures of London, and I sometimes persuade myself that this is the happier life of the two. Yet," he continues, "there are some hours I could wish to have repeated. Those in which I was honoured with your lordship's conversation, I shall ever recollect with the greatest pleasure."

Whilst engaged in these useful and tranquil occupations, the even tenor of his life was interrupted by the attempt of a Tory administration to tax the colonies without the consent of their representatives in the local legislatures. Mr. George Grenville, the political adversary, although the brother-in-law of the elder William Pitt, had succeeded him as first minister of the crown, and had carried through parliament the ill-advised stamp-act. The indignation with which this offensive measure was received in America, was such as might have been predicted from the character of the colonists, descended, as most of them were, from the sturdy republicans who first settled New England, and inheriting their tenacity of civil rights with perhaps greater jealousy of religious, if not of political liberty. Lord Stirling was among the foremost and most efficient opposers of this rash and obnoxious policy. He encouraged a passive resistance to the execution of the act, by promoting an agreement to dispense with the stamp paper without prejudice to the contracts in which its use was required. By his influence in New Jersey, he procured the removal of the parliamentary agent of that province, who had failed to oppose the odious enactment, and obtained the appointment for the eminent solicitor who had acted for him in London.* A letter from this gentleman, announcing the repeal of the act, shows his

* Henry Wilmot, secretary successively to the Lord Chancellors Northington and Camden.

agreement in sentiment with Lord Stirling. "I entirely agree," he says, "with your lordship, that we should be content with your commerce, which, indeed, is all that is valuable in colonies; and if this commerce will bring every farthing of your money to Great Britain, we can have no more."

A Whig, not merely from education and early associations, but from the convictions of his maturer judgment, Lord Stirling was ever true to his principles. He had resisted the execution of the stamp-act, and assisted in procuring its repeal. With equal determination, he opposed the subsequent expedients, by which, in another form, it was sought to raise a revenue in America, by the authority of the British parliament. When resistance in Massachusetts was followed by the shedding of blood, he was among the first in the other colonies to take up arms in what he felt to be the common cause. The military experience he had gained under Shirley, with his local influence and personal popularity, led to his being chosen, in the summer of 1775, by the people of the county in which he resided, to the command of a regiment which he had been instrumental in raising. He exhibited his characteristic energy and activity in recruiting and organizing his regiment, supplying arms at his own expense, to such of his men as were unable to arm themselves. He had issued orders for a general review and muster, but before the day appointed for it to take place, he was transferred to the command of the first of two regiments, directed by Congress to be raised in New Jersey, for the continental service. Into this, he was followed by most of the officers and men from his militia regiment. Upon receiving this appointment, he repaired to Philadelphia, to confer with his friends in Congress. He then visited, in rapid succession, various parts of New Jersey, to procure recruits, collect arms and ammunition, and prepare barracks. He soon succeeded in completing

his regiment, and within one week from receiving his commission established its head-quarters at Elizabethtown. He then commenced preparations for defending any vessels that might take refuge in the adjoining waters, from molestation by the British cruisers in the bay and harbour of New York; and he asked and received from Congress authority to take for the public use from the merchant vessels in those waters, whatever ammunition they might have on board, upon payment of its value.

Early in January, 1776, he received orders from General Washington, then at Cambridge, to reinforce General Lee, at New York, with the troops from New Jersey. While preparing to execute these orders, information reached him that a British armed transport, laden with stores for the troops at Boston, was hovering off Sandy Hook in distress, waiting for assistance from the king's ships at New York. He immediately proceeded to Perth Amboy, seized upon a pilot boat, manned her with volunteers, and being joined by three smaller vessels with his recruits, and others from Elizabethtown, whom he had directed to follow him, he put to sea, and in the night fell in with the enemy's ship, nearly twenty miles from Sandy Hook, attacked and carried her with musketry alone, although she had on board six brass cannon, besides small arms and a crew of twenty men. The next day he conducted his prize safely into Amboy, while the Asia man-of-war and her tender lay in full view at anchor in the bay of New York. The promptness with which this enterprise was conceived, and the gallantry with which it was executed, at once established the character of Lord Stirling for zeal, activity, and good conduct, and gained for him one of the first votes of thanks granted by Congress.

On the 4th of February, he received orders from General Lee to march with his regiment to New York. He accordingly set out the following day, and crossing the

Hudson with difficulty through the ice, arrived there on the 6th. On the first of March he was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general; and his commission was transmitted to him, accompanied by a highly complimentary letter from the President of Congress.

General Lee being soon after ordered to the southward, Lord Stirling remained for a season in the chief command at New York. He immediately directed his efforts to cutting off the communication between the king's ships in the bay, and the inhabitants of Long and Staten Islands; and preparing quarters for the army under General Washington, who intended to march thither as soon as the enemy should have left Boston.

The American force at New York, including the volunteers from the city, did not amount to two thousand men. Lord Stirling, therefore, in expectation that the British fleet and army would proceed immediately to New York, called for additional troops from Connecticut and New Jersey, as well as for the full *quota* to be furnished by New York. Meanwhile he employed those he already had in fortifying the commanding points in the harbour. In this, the troops were assisted by the inhabitants of the city and its neighbourhood. In addition to other motives to exertion, they knew that their commander was stimulated by the assurance of General Washington, that "the fate of this campaign, and of course the fate of America, depends on you and the army under your command, should the enemy attempt your quarter."

For a short period Lord Stirling was superseded in his command, by the arrival at New York of his senior officer, Brigadier-general Thompson. He employed the interval in superintending the construction of additional works on the Jersey shore of the Hudson. General Thompson being soon afterwards ordered to the Canadian frontier, the chief command at New York once more devolved on Lord

199

Stirling, who again applied himself to the completion of its defences.

General Washington arrived there with his army on the 14th of April. The British commander-in-chief, Sir William Howe, instead of proceeding directly to New York, retired to Halifax, to await reinforcements from England. It was near the end of June before the fleet under the command of his brother, Lord Howe, on board of which was the army, entered Sandy Hook; and the latter was not disembarked until the day on which Congress declared the independence of the United States.

After a further delay of more than six weeks, during which the British army had landed on Staten Island, it was re-embarked, and again landed under cover of the fleet, at Gravesend on Long Island. General Washington, unwilling to hazard a general and decisive battle with a force in many respects superior to his own, attempted no more than the temporary check and annoyance of the enemy. He remained, himself, with the reserve of the army within the city, intrusting the chief command on Long Island to General Putnam, who had under him Generals Greene, Sullivan, and Stirling, the former of whom was confined by severe illness to his bed.

On the night of the 25th of August, the British general, Grant, with five thousand men and ten pieces of cannon, was reported to be advancing from the Narrows, along the shores of the bay. Lord Stirling was directed by Putnam to oppose this formidable force with the two continental regiments nearest at hand. Soon after day-break on the 26th, he came within sight of the enemy before whom our advanced parties were retiring. These he rallied, and being joined by some artillery, made the necessary disposition of his men, and commenced skirmishing when within a hundred and fifty yards of the enemy. The firing was kept up briskly on both sides for two hours, when the British light troops retired, though the cannon-

ading between the parties continued for some time afterwards.

Another body of the enemy, under Lord Cornwallis, now gained the rear of Lord Stirling, who at once perceived that an immediate retreat could alone save his detachment. Ordering the main body of his force to make the best of their way through the Gowannis Creek, he placed himself at the head of four hundred of Smallwood's regiment, and attacked Cornwallis, who was advantageously posted in a house at Luqueer's mills, near which the remainder of Lord Stirling's troops was to pass the creek. The attack was maintained with so much intrepidity and perseverance, that the British general was about being driven from his station, when he received a reinforcement which compelled his assailants to draw off. Lord Stirling had, however, secured the retreat of the main body of his detachment; and his object now was to provide for the safety of the gallant remnant he had retained with him. In this attempt he was met by fresh bodies of the enemy in every direction, but he had himself succeeded in turning the point of a hill covering him from their fire, when he was intercepted by a corps of Hessians under General de Heister, to whom he was compelled to surrender. General Washington bore the strongest testimony to the bravery, skill, and pertinacity with which Lord Stirling had attacked the enemy, and by the sacrifice of himself saved his detachment; and he took the earliest opportunity to effect his exchange: while Congress, in acknowledgment of his conduct, promoted him to the rank of major-general.

In this capacity he joined the army on its memorable retreat through New Jersey, and took part in the operations on the Delaware, where he again signalized himself by the successful defence of Coryell's Ferry. When the army went into winter quarters at Morristown, General Washington selected Lord Stirling to command on the lines immediately opposite to the enemy. Here he was

frequently engaged with strong parties of the British and Hessians detached on predatory and other more important expeditions into the country. On one of these occasions, his old antagonist, Cornwallis, had marched out in great force from Perth-Amboy, and advanced as far as the "Short hills" near Springfield, with the view, as it was supposed, of breaking up General Washington's winter quarters at Morristown. Lord Stirling put himself at the head of the few regular troops he had with him on the lines, encountered the advance of the British detachments with great gallantry, and at length, when compelled by superior numbers to retreat, took so advantageous a position as to arrest the progress of the enemy, and frustrate his design.

Upon the opening of the campaign of 1777, he again encountered a formidable party of the enemy under the same commander, and after sustaining an attack with his usual courage and constancy for some time, he was compelled by their superior strength to retire from the open country, with the loss of three of his field-pieces; but gaining an advantageous position among the hills near Middlebrook, he made so obstinate a stand as to arrest the further progress of the enemy. This and similar checks induced Sir William Howe to abandon his attempt to reach Philadelphia by land.

Lord Stirling was now detached with his division to the Hudson, to reinforce the army intended to operate against Burgoyne. But when he had reached the highlands, he was recalled, in consequence of intelligence of the embarkation of the British troops at New York, with the probable design of proceeding to Philadelphia. The American army now took up a position on the Brandywine, to oppose the advance of the enemy upon the seat of the continental government, and General Washington determined to hazard a battle for its protection. In the action which followed, Lord Stirling threw himself, with Sullivan

and La Fayette, personally into the conflict, while the division of the former was retreating; and they maintained their ground until the American force was completely broken, and when the enemy were within twenty yards of them they made good their retreat into the woods. At the battle of Germantown, fought soon afterwards, Lord Stirling commanded the reserve, composed of the New Jersey and North Carolina regiments, and was actively engaged at the close of the action, when Brigadier-general Nash, who commanded the North Carolina troops, was slain upon the field.

Encouraged by the good conduct of his troops in this engagement, General Washington meditated an attack upon Philadelphia. He submitted the subject to the consideration of a council of war, a majority of which were against the proposal. Lord Stirling, who was in the minority, was requested by the rest to draw a plan for the attack, which they submitted to the commander-in-chief. Upon receiving it, General Washington proceeded in person to reconnoitre the defences of the enemy; but he came to the conclusion that the works were too strong to be carried without great loss, and the design of assaulting them was reluctantly abandoned. The army then went into winter-quarters at Valley Forge.

The winter of 1777–8 was rendered memorable by the discovery of a plot for superseding General Washington in the chief command of the army—known, from its prime mover, as the "Conway Cabal." Emboldened by the success of Gates at Saratoga, and encouraged by some symptoms of hostility which had been manifested towards Washington in Congress, some restless spirits in the army, the principal of whom, besides Gates himself, were Generals Conway and Mifflin, engaged in an intrigue with some of the disaffected in Congress to substitute their chief in the place of Washington. They relied of course upon the eclât Gates had acquired from the surrender of

Burgoyne. But they forgot that his good fortune on that occasion was more owing to the previous dispositions of General Schuyler, who had preceded him in the command, than to his own military skill, and they failed to make allowance for the constitutional weakness and irresolution of a leader upon whose vanity they had practised with success. This conspiracy was defeated principally through the instrumentality of Lord Stirling. It was brought to his knowledge through the *convivial* indiscretion of Wilkinson, one of the minor parties, who was aid-de-camp to General Gates, and had been despatched by him to Congress with the account of his success. Wilkinson, on his way to Congress, stopped at Lord Stirling's head-quarters, at Reading, in Pennsylvania, and dined at his table on the day he arrived. After Lord Stirling had withdrawn, Wilkinson repeated to Major McWilliams, an aid of Lord Stirling's, the well-known passage in the letter of Conway to Gates: "Heaven has determined to save your country, or a weak general and bad counsellors would have ruined it." McWilliams considered it his duty to communicate the affair to Lord Stirling, who in his turn felt bound by private friendship as well as public duty to inform General Washington. For this, an effort was made by the conspirators to disparage his character, by charging him with a breach of hospitality; but the attempt recoiled upon the heads of those who were themselves parties to a treacherous intrigue, and secretly engaged in circulating the grossest calumny.

The army remained at the Valley Forge until the evacuation of Philadelphia, by Sir Henry Clinton, who had succeeded Sir William Howe in the command of the British forces. As soon as he was apprized of that movement, General Washington started in pursuit of the enemy, with the intention of hanging on his rear, harassing him on his march, and in case of a favourable opportunity bringing him to action, which at length was accomplished

at Monmouth Court-house. In the battle that ensued, Lord Stirling commanded the left wing of the American army, and at the crisis of the engagement produced by the unexpected retreat of General Lee, he brought forward a detachment of artillery which played with such effect upon the enemy as to prevent his profiting by the advantage he had gained. To retrieve the day, a British column then attempted to turn Lord Stirling's left flank, but were repulsed by the infantry of his division.

In the October following, he was ordered to Elizabethtown, to command the troops engaged in watching the British fleet and army at New York. Upon the opening of the campaign of 1779, he was directed to take post at Pompton with the Virginia division, and cover the country towards the Hudson. Major Henry Lee, who, with his light horse, formed part of Lord Stirling's command, having learned that the advanced party of the enemy at Paulus Hook was remiss in keeping guard, formed the project of surprising it. His suggestion being approved, Lord Stirling furnished the necessary force, and took part in person with a strong detachment in covering Lee's retreat. The enterprise was successful; and, for the part he had taken in the affair, Lord Stirling received the thanks of the commander-in-chief, and of Congress.

When the army again went into winter quarters at Morristown, Lord Stirling was detached at the head of two thousand men to attempt the surprise of the British posts on Staten Island. He succeeded in crossing to the island on the ice, but failed in taking the enemy by surprise. The enemy's works were too strong to be taken by assault, and the communication by water with New York, from which the enemy might be reinforced, was unexpectedly found to be open. The attack, therefore, was abandoned; but some sharp skirmishing took place on the retreat, a charge on the rear by the enemy's cavalry was repelled, and a few prisoners were brought off by the Americans.

The campaign of 1780 was not distinguished by any important event in the northern states, and Lord Stirling, after a long absence, was enabled to visit his family, and look after his concerns at Baskenridge.

The next year he was ordered to Albany, to take command of the army collecting there, to resist another threatened invasion from Canada. He assembled the main body of his troops at Saratoga, and prepared to defend the passage of the Hudson at Fort Miller. The invading army, under St. Leger, had advanced as far as Lake George, when its commander was deterred by the severity of the weather from proceeding further, or determined by intelligence of Cornwallis's surrender to retrace his steps. Having ascertained that he had reached Ticonderoga in his retreat, Lord Stirling dismissed the militia of his command, left his regular troops at Saratoga, under command of General Stark, and returned himself to Albany.

He afterwards resumed his command in New Jersey, and established his head-quarters for the winter at Philadelphia, which was within his military district. Early in the next summer, there were rumours of another expedition being on foot from Canada, and Lord Stirling was once more ordered to Albany. The favourite object of forming a junction between a British army from Canada, and that in New York, was again revived, but no real movements for effecting it was made, and Lord Stirling had only to remain on the alert, and keep himself informed of the intentions of the enemy.

His useful and honourable career was now brought suddenly to a close. The fatigue of body and mind to which he had been subjected, during his command on an important and exposed frontier, added to the arduous and unremitting service in which he had been engaged from the commencement of the war, brought on a violent attack of the gout, to which he was subject, and which now

proved fatal. He died at Albany, on the 15th of January, 1783, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and within one week of the solemn recognition by treaty of his country's independence. His death was scarcely less deeply lamented by the troops he had commanded,* than by his nearest connections and most attached friends. He was indeed regretted by all who had known him, and by many who, unacquainted with him personally, lamented the loss to the public of the influence of his character, and the benefit of his services. No stronger evidence can be given of the estimation in which he was held, than the manner in which his death was communicated to Congress by the commander-in-chief, the resolutions passed by that body on receiving the intelligence, and above all by the touching letter of condolence addressed to his widow by General Washington.

Both his public and private character are illustrated by his letters, and by his acts. The former have long been accessible to all who feel an interest or curiosity in the events of his life and times,† and of the latter it may emphatically be said—

"*Actis*, ævum implet non segnibus annis."

When these states were colonies, he endeavoured to promote their growth by enlightened suggestions to their rulers in the mother country; by his own example and his advice to others he sought to multiply the objects of agricultural production among his countrymen, and to develop the mineral wealth of the state in which he was born, and of that in which he resided; he aided in founding a library for diffusing knowledge among the inhabitants

* It so happened that he had had under his command, at different times during the war, every brigade in the American army, except those of South Carolina and Georgia.

† In the collections of the Historical Societies of New York and New Jersey.

of his native city, and fostering in its infancy a literary institution* that has sent forth numerous bands of ingenuous youth, fitted for a career of usefulness and honour. An ardent lover of his country, an unflinching defender of her liberty, he resolutely opposed the first attempts to subjugate the one and assail the other. When the ordinary means had failed to obtain redress from a stubborn king, and equally obstinate parliament, he encouraged and promoted measures, rendering their illegal schemes of taxation nugatory; and when it was attempted to put down constitutional resistance by military force, he was among the first to take up arms; and he never laid them down until he died on the eve of his country's triumph. Amid the various discouragements that perplexed the struggle, he never wavered or despaired of success. In equal disregard of the high rank in the parent state, and of the large territorial domain in the colonies, which a contrary course would have insured to him, he persevered to the last in support of that cause for which he had pledged his life and fortune, and in which he literally lost them both. His private fortune was sacrificed in the contest, and he left nothing to his descendants but what he bequeathed to his country and mankind:—"AN HONOURABLE EXAMPLE OF A MAN, COUNTING NOTHING OF VALUE IN COMPARISON WITH THE SACRED MAINTENANCE OF HIS PRINCIPLES, AND SINKING EVERY SELFISH CONSIDERATION IN THE ONE STRONG AND CONTROLLING FEELING OF AN ARDENT PATRIOTISM."†

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* King's, now Columbia College.

† North American Review, No. CXXXV., April, 1847.

MAJOR-GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER.

THE earliest mention we have of Philip Schuyler is from the pen of Mrs. Grant, daughter of an officer in the British army, who spent much time in the family of Mrs. Schuyler, (or "Aunt Schuyler," as she was called in affectionate reverence,) while the future American general was yet a youth. He had been adopted into this well-ordered family early in life, and shared largely the affections of the household. She describes him as a handsome youth, of most engaging manners; resolute, persevering, and singularly prudent in all matters of business. His subsequent history fully justifies the opinion thus early formed; for such was the cleverness and efficiency, the despatch and energy with which Schuyler conducted the ardous duties enjoined upon him by Congress, that we hazard nothing in asserting that, without his co-operation both in personal service and necessary funds, the northern army could not have sustained itself in the field a single campaign. We may add, likewise, that the cruel injustice which sacrificed the noble Schuyler to the vain and ambitious Gates, is an indirect compliment to the tried patriotism of the former. Had not even his enemies been fully assured of the magnanimity of their man, they would not have dared to tamper with one possessed of the *wealth* and *influence* of Philip Schuyler, at such a time. Arnold and Stark had little beside personal intrepidity to bring into the field; but Schuyler's influence was extensive and essential like theirs; equally brave, he was possessed likewise of a composed and equable mind, bearing a strong analogy to that of the commander-in-chief; and to these essentials he combined an ample fortune, which he was ever ready to expend in the great cause in which he was engaged.

207

His family was of Dutch origin, and one of the most ancient in the colonies; in the earlier records of which the name of Schuyler figures largely in offices involving trust and importance; while in the history of the Six Nations, especially in that of the renowned Mohawks, it must remain linked for ever, no other family in the country ever having possessed in so high a degree the confidence of these modern Heraclidæ. Philip Schuyler was born at Albany, November 22d, 1733. His father having died while he was yet young, he was adopted into the family of Colonel Philip Schuyler, of the Flats, as Saratoga was at that time designated, whose estate at that place he afterwards inherited; so that the great scene of his untiring labours for his country—the scene of his sacrifices, triumphs, and humiliations—was upon his own acres, in sight of all the recollections of his childhood and youth, amid the mouldering ashes of his once princely home, which the army of Burgoyne had wantonly destroyed; and here it was, when the laurel of victory was ready to descend upon his own brow, that Congress wrenched it aside to place it upon his who never feared an enemy, and who "entered into the bride's feast" which the hands of Schuyler had prepared.

At twenty-two he was selected to the office of commissary to the army then preparing for an expedition against Canada. The officers of Lord Howe remonstrated against this, as involving too much trust for so young a man; but the efficiency and despatch with which he discharged the arduous duties of the office, fully justified the confidence and discernment of that nobleman. The defeat of the army, the disasters of Ticonderoga, and the unfortunate death of Lord Howe, threw a double weight of responsibility upon young Schuyler, who was intimately acquainted with that region of country, and whose influence was most needful to curb the recklessness of the Mohawks, who would yield service only to a Schuyler. It became his

melancholy office, likewise, to convey the body of his lamented friend, Lord Howe, to Albany, where it was honourably interred. He continued to act in aid of the army, till the peace of 1763 restored him once more to the elegancies of home, but not to its repose.

His education, position, and well-known public ability were too important to the wellbeing of the country, to be suffered to lie in idleness. He was appointed to various important offices in the growing troubles of the period, all of which he discharged with benefit to his country, and honour to himself. He held a seat in the Assembly of New York, at that time one of considerable moment, the members holding their places for seven years, the number being few, and chosen exclusively from freeholders. Here his bold systematic opposition to the aggressive measures of the British crown, placed him foremost amongst the patriots of the day; though one of the minority at a time when the cry of treason pealed like a knell amid the storminess of debate, Schuyler and the intrepid few pressed onward, true to the principles of human justice, till at length the house was compelled, from very shame, to draw up a bill in which they condemned certain acts of the British Parliament "as public grievances, and subversive of the rights of American-born British subjects."

The bolt was shot, and New York fairly in the field. The country was in a state of intense excitement—resistance must be made, and what should be the result was known only to the God of nations. But the leading men of that time were definite in their ideas, and in their love for right and country. Linked as they might be by wealth and connection with the refinements of the old world, they still yielded loyal and loving service for the country of their birth. Familiar as had been Philip Schuyler with the best officers of the British crown, his family likewise being strongly attached to the government, two of his brothers holding offices in the British army, he

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was still clear and determined in his assertions of right. He was early elected a delegate to the continental Congress, which met in May, 1775, and hardly had he made his appearance there before he was appointed third major-general of the American army.

He was immediately placed over the northern division of the army, which he hastened to reduce to order and military harmony, providing the munitions of war with a skill and celerity almost incredible, when we consider the impoverished state of the country, and which leads at once to the inference that much was done from his own private resources. Indeed, later in the course of the war, Congress felt no hesitation in imposing duties upon him, which could only be so met; and it is well known that a large amount of money was thus raised for the relief of the soldiery entirely upon his own responsibility.

Repairing to Lake Champlain, Schuyler put Ticonderoga and Crown Point into a state of defence; and four regiments descended the lake, under the command of Montgomery, on the way to Canada. But the difficulties and hardships to which the necessities of the army reduced the commander were such that, at this moment of greatest need, he was taken down with a violent fever, which compelled him to a degree of inaction most irksome to his ardent temperament. Unwilling to abandon the field of labour, and hoping to surmount his illness, he caused himself to be carried in a batteau to the Isle Aux Noix, where he might be promptly in aid of the army. But his illness was too severe to be thus summarily met, and he was obliged to be reconveyed to Ticonderoga, and to yield the Canada expedition entirely into the hands of his friend Montgomery. For two years did this able officer contend with the effects of this attack, reduced to a skeleton, and beset with difficulties the most annoying to a soldier, from the bad condition of the army, mutinous, ill-supplied with arms and clothing, and often reduced to the greatest

straits for lack of provisions. Yet he never forsook his post; rallying, for a few days, he was abroad wherever most needed; reduced again, he dictated orders from his camp-bed, and wrote letters that would fill volumes to the commander-in-chief, to Congress, and wherever good could be best done.

Charged with the duty of supplying the army with recruits, provisions, clothing, arms, and money, he upon a bed of sickness—with unlimitted orders, yet an empty exchequer—surrounded by wants the most urgent, which he was unable to meet, he at length sought leave to retire, lest the public good should suffer through his disabilities. Congress became alarmed; they could not lose so efficient a man. A vote of thanks for his services passed the House; they expressed, through President Hancock, their "greatest concern and sympathy for his loss of health, and requested that he would not insist upon a measure which would deprive America of his zeal and abilities, and rob him of the honour of completing a glorious work, which he had so happily and successfully begun." General Washington expressed similar sentiments: "Do not think of a step so injurious to yourself and the country. You have not a difficulty to contend with, which I do not labour under in the highest degree." This is an affecting picture of the two men, in their friendly and manly correspondence, full of forebodings, yet bearing up against the pressure of the times; yet Washington was in the vigour of health, and Schuyler worn by labour and suffering.

Schuyler bore up, without hesitation, "now that Montgomery was no more: he who had given so many proofs of the goodness of his heart, and who, as he *greatly fell in his country's cause, was more to be envied than lamented.*" Every month increased the arduousness of the duties imposed upon him. No man at the time was intrusted with so much discretionary power. Congress issued its intimations of service required, and left him to perform

it as best he might. The army was in want of muskets, ammunition, and cannon; and the soldiers clamorous for pay. No wonder: their families were at home starving, while they, with naked feet and bare heads mounted the breastwork and presented their bosoms to the shots of the invader. They would fight and die; but there was the wife, the mother, the helpless child, pining and dying for lack of succour. We write the history of our leaders to battle, and forget the sufferings of the great mass of beating hearts—the palpitating bone and muscle—who stood a wall of flesh for our defence.

Schuyler responded to the call—he raised funds on his own account—he did all that a human being could do in mitigation of this distress. Even Washington, from his camp at Cambridge, applied to Schuyler for arms. "Your letters and mine," said the great man, in allusion to the exigencies to which they were reduced, "seem echoes to each other, enumerating our mutual difficulties." Another office of delicacy and much difficulty devolved upon Schuyler at this time. He was ordered to disarm the tories of the Mohawk country, whose operations thwarted the interest of the American cause. These had been, many of them, his old friends and neighbours, whom the stress of the period had estranged from him: it needs but a thought to see how thankless must have been this necessary service.

On the 17th of February, Lee was appointed to the command of the northern army, and Schuyler to that of New York—a change which Congress assured him was only made from their conviction that his health would not bear a northern campaign; yet it was soon ascertained that the army in the north could not be sustained without his aid and co-operation, and his headquarters were appointed him in Albany, that he might superintend both departments; but this want of efficient and energetic action upon the part of Congress, at length destroyed all hope of effecting the conquest of Canada. It was in vain that Schuyler, Montgomery, Arnold, Lee, Wooster and Thomas,

each and all, urged the inadequacy of support; in vain that the soldiers, harassed to no purpose, deserted and rebelled, and that *forty officers* at one time sent in their resignations; either Congress feared the power of a great northern army, or were unable to raise one; and, after a series of mortifying disasters, a retreat was ordered, and the enterprise abandoned.

In return for all this arduous service and lavishment of fortune in behalf of his country, Schuyler found himself the subject of public abuse, and openly charged with being the *cause* of the failure of our arms in Canada. Disgusted at this injustice, and with the treachery of persons who afterwards failed not openly to oppose him, he again besought leave from Congress to retire from the army. Congress refused, and expressed the warmest approval of his conduct. He demanded an examination of his career, which was promptly granted, and a full and explicit award of the approbation of Congress and that of the commander-in-chief greeted him. Impelled by the warmest love for the service, and now restored to excellent health, nothing could exceed his vigilance and activity. Thwarted and opposed as he was by Gates and others under his command, he was still courteous and conciliatory. Being now the second major-general in the army, Lee only acting above him, his position was at once important and honourable, and called forth all the nobleness of his fine character.

In the mean while the splendid army of Burgoyne was making its way into the state of New York. Ten thousand effective men were on the march by the way of Lake Champlain. Schuyler with his ill supplied army was at Fort Edward, and St. Clair at Ticonderoga. Unable to compete with the forces opposed to him, the latter, without waiting orders from his superior, felt himself obliged to abandon his position and seek refuge in Fort Edward, followed by the exultant foe. The inhabitants fled in dismay from their homes, and the story of the murder of Jane McCrea, by the allied Indians of the Bri-

tish army, spread consternation upon every side. The eastern states were filled with alarm, and the hero of Bennington once more took the field to defend the frontier of his native state. "Not a militiaman should fail to do service for his country at a crisis like this," cried the exasperated Schuyler, indignant at those who feared to come to the rescue. He made the warmest, the most urgent appeals; forced to retreat, the usages of war compelled him with bleeding heart to lay waste the country, that less might be left for the uses of the foe. "The earth was as a garden of Eden before them, and behind as a desolate wilderness." Bridges were destroyed, roads blocked and obstructed with timber; the waving harvest flashed in the flame; herds were driven away, and the people, appalled at the memory of the beautiful woman so cruelly sacrificed, followed in the wake of the camp as the only place of security.

Vigorous as were the measures of Schuyler, they could not meet the exigencies of the occasion. He had urged the insufficiency of means for the defence of the northern fortifications. Ticonderoga, as we have seen, had been abandoned for lack of resources, notwithstanding his appeals, by express, to General Washington, and to the governors of Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New York, and all his remonstrances at the insufficiency of the garrison for purposes of defence. He was on the march for the relief of these important posts, when he met the flying army of St. Clair.

Retreating, yet full of intrepidity, Schuyler still cheered the hopes of his desponding army. He published proclamations, he incited the inhabitants to defence, and by the most consummate attention to every part of his department, contrived to sustain his own manly heart. He writes to Washington, "If my country will support me with vigour and dexterity, and do not meanly despond, I shall be able to prevent the enemy from penetrating much farther."

At the time of which we are now speaking, the whole strength of Schuyler did not exceed four thousand five hundred men. They were without suitable arms, without

warriors who for years, bordering upon a century, had been artillery; suffering, sickly, distressed, and daily wasted by desertions. This insufficient band was expected to resist the progress of an army flushed with success, six thousand strong, and superbly accoutred. The eastern troops were jealous of those of New York, they concurred scantily with military usages, and Schuyler was compelled to rely mostly upon the aid of his immediate state. Undisheartened by these obstacles his efforts were unceasing, and by the first of August he was able to make some stand against the foe. As Burgoyne made his way down the Hudson, there were constant skirmishings at the outposts of the army as it slowly retreated in good order to the famous Saratoga.

In the mean while the detachment of the British army, under St. Leger, had besieged Fort Stanwix, which was reduced to the last extremity, but still nobly held out, as knowing the terrible fate which awaited them should they fall into the hands of the enemy and their ferocious Indian allies. The seat of war was now one of intense interest. Schuyler saw that the moment for decisive action was at hand, and nothing that human forethought could suggest to make it one of triumph was wanting on his part. Fort Stanwix was a subject of intense anxiety, and at this moment, when it seemed needful to concentrate the forces to resist the approach of the main army of Burgoyne, General Herkimer was sent to the relief of this fortress. On his way he was encountered by the detachment under Sir John Johnson, and defeated at the battle of Oriskany, a battle, which, for wild picturesque interest suggests the romance of border warfare in the highest degree.* Schuyler here encountered a commander who had often shared the hospitalities of his own household, and a race of rude

* The best description of this battle, which we have ever seen, may be found in the pages of Greyslayer, a Legend of the Mohawk, from the pen of C. F. Hoffman; the vivid imagination of the novelist being better adapted to a stirring scene like this, than the ordinarily dry details of the historian.

treated as younger children by his family. Such are the urgencies of war! Schuyler, with the whole of Burgoyne's army bearing down upon him, needing every man at his post ready for the coming onset, was yet compelled to weaken his army further, by the despatch of men to the relief of Gansevoort, still holding out gallantly in the defence of Fort Stanwix. Arnold, with five hundred men, was sent to the rescue, and the despairing prisoners who for three weeks had repelled a murderous foe, hailed their approach with loud shouts.

Thus was this little band saved from destruction, and the death of the stout Herkimer, who perished at Oriskany, in some degree avenged; St. Leger, with his tories and Indian allies, held in abeyance, and Schuyler's troops allowed time to breathe before the great onset of Burgoyne. Then came the news of the battle of Bennington, and all was hope and exultation. Schuyler saw now nothing but victory. All was in readiness to meet the foe, and he, so often hindered, tried, and perplexed, was able to make a great stand for freedom, upon his own hearth-stone, as it were.

At this moment Gates appeared in the camp, and Philip Schuyler was superseded in command by his former enemy; the same who had once before refused to serve under him at Ticonderoga, and who had spared nothing to achieve his downfall. From this time Gates has been called the hero of Saratoga—it has a sound of mockery.

"I am sensible of the indignity of being ordered from the command of the army, at a time when an engagement must soon take place;" such was the calm remonstrance of this most injured great man, whose conduct on this occasion was worthy of Washington himself; and such as no man but Philip Schuyler, the true patriot, the brave and thoroughly upright man, could have evinced. So far from displaying the meanness of any kind of resentment, he generously offered to serve his country as a private gentleman in any way in which he could be useful. He still gave the aid of his best counsel, and continued his corres-

pondence with Congress, which could ill do without his valuable aid in the various departments in which he had been employed. Subsequently, when his whole career had been subjected to the most rigid examination, and when his conduct had been fully approved, Washington and other friends urged him to resume the command of the northern department; but he resolutely refused—his pride had been too deeply wounded—he had encountered obloquy and injustice where applause should have followed his steps, and he had too much self-respect to hazard the trial.

But his public services did not end here. After the necessary attention to his own estates, "which had greatly suffered by the barbarous ravages of the British army," he was zealous in promoting the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, and was elected to the first Senate, under the new order of things. He foresaw the marvellous prosperity of his native state, and was foremost in the great movement in behalf of internal improvements. In the plan which he sketched for furthering the navigation of the Mohawk may be traced the germ of the Erie Canal, which, splendid as it is, is destined to dwindle into insignificance before the gigantic plans now in progress of development.

The last years of Schuyler were distinguished with the elegant dignity of an American gentleman. Full of years, beloved, and respected, the statesman, the patriot, and the Christian moved calmly to the "dread bourne." On the death of Washington, his long-tried friend and brother in arms, he dressed in deep mourning. His four last years were a period of grief and bereavement, which loosened the grasp of the good man upon life. His wife, most tenderly beloved, was taken away; his daughter, Mrs. Van Rensselaer, died; and his noble son-in-law, the great Hamilton, perished by the hand of Burr. His cup of bitterness was at the brim—he died, November 18th, 1804, aged seventy-one.

219

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His useful and honourable career was now brought suddenly to a close. The fatigue of body and mind to which he had been subjected, during his command on an important and exposed frontier, added to the arduous and unremitting service in which he had been engaged from the commencement of the war, brought on a violent attack of the gout, to which he was subject, and which now

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Both his public and private character are illustrated by his letters, and by his acts. The former have long been accessible to all who feel an interest or curiosity in the events of his life and times,† and of the latter it may emphatically be said—

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When these states were colonies, he endeavoured to promote their growth by enlightened suggestions to their rulers in the mother country; by his own example and his advice to others he sought to multiply the objects of agricultural production among his countrymen, and to develop the mineral wealth of the state in which he was born, and of that in which he resided; he aided in founding a library for diffusing knowledge among the inhabitants

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rear, by which means, all the officers of Herron's company were lost, and the rest, knowing their situation, and having no wagons, could not bring off the sick; it was unfortunate that orders were sent to the upper ferry, to have the boats brought down by two private soldiers, which coming through an improper channel, were disobeyed; it was very unfortunate that no officers were appointed to superintend the embarkation and disembarkation of our troops in the four boats which Ogden had, by which means, as much time was lost in the delay on the other side as would have secured a safe passage: for that which was every man's business was attended to by none; it was unfortunate that many plundered horses were brought over, which produced much delay; it was very unfortunate we had no cannon, and that we marched down into the marsh opposite the enemy, where two of our men had their brains knocked out with their field-pieces; it was very unfortunate that we had nothing to eat for near forty-three hours, and were marching most of the time, which did such injury to the troops, that at one time, yesterday, Deborre's brigade could not muster above forty men. My arithmetic will not serve for the whole enumeration: I will therefore halt here. By the enemy's return, they have a hundred and thirty prisoners of ours; but you may be assured we shall not get off under two hundred. Several field-officers and commanders fell into our hands, and the general talks of an exchange.

"Figure to yourself the situation we are in, then hear that we are to march in two or three days to the southward, and wish, but do not hope, to see many of us come forward. I wish, my dear colonel, you could join us; your presence is absolutely necessary to reclaim that order which we have been gradually losing ever since you left us. I am so much fatigued that I am wholly unable to write to Mr. Penn; I should therefore be obliged to you to show him this letter; and tell him further, that if Con-

gress do not make an inquiry into this affair, they will not do their duty to their constituents. I am, dear sir,

"Your most humble servant,

"JOHN TAYLOR."

This letter was regarded by Sullivan and his friends as an ebullition of personal enmity. The court of inquiry, which was held immediately after the battle of Brandywine, honourably acquitted him, and was unanimously of opinion that the expedition was feasible and promised considerable advantages; that it was well planned; and that it would have been perfectly successful but for some accidents which were beyond both the power and the foresight of the commanding general. Another original letter, addressed to Sullivan by Colonel Ogden, will serve as an antidote to Major Taylor's:

"DEAR SIR,—As you are, in my opinion, very unjustly censured for your conduct respecting the Staten Island expedition, I cannot, in justice to you, or the public service, omit presenting you with my narrative of the affair, which, if you please, you may make public. I do not mean to call in question the proceedings of the honourable Congress; I doubt not they have been imposed on by misrepresentations of facts; otherwise they would not have ordered a court of inquiry. I am certain it is not their intention to injure the character of an officer for being successful. The plan ordered by you, after consulting those gentlemen in whom you could confide, who were best acquainted with the island, and the situation of the enemy, was this—That Generals Smallwood and Deborre should cross at Halstead's Point, the former to attack Buskirk, at the Dutch church, and the latter Barton, at the New Blazing Star. I was to cross at the old Blazing Star, with the first and third Jersey regiments, and a part of the militia, and attack the regiments of Lawrence, Daugan, and Atten, which, if I found an even match, I

was to take post on advantageous ground, and wait until I was supported by a regiment from General Deborre, which regiment, in case I drove the enemy, was to head them and pick up stragglers. One regiment from General Smallwood was to be left for the same purpose at the cross-road above, and to take up those that should escape General Deborre, after which the whole division was to join and march to where I had crossed, and where you were to re-cross. This plan appeared to me well concocted, and perfectly consistent. The officers on my part performed every duty required or expected. They routed the enemy, and made many of them prisoners, with very little loss. How far the officers of your division executed their part, I cannot pretend to say. Though this I am certain of, that the loss of most of the men was owing to the carelessness of the officers commanding platoons, in suffering their men to fall out of their places. Those that were lost with the rear-guard sold themselves dear, and their being exposed was unavoidable.

"I am, sir, with respect and esteem,

"Your humble servant,

"M. OGDEN."

When the report of the court of inquiry was presented to Congress, it was resolved by that body that the result, so honourable to the character of General Sullivan, was highly pleasing to that body, and that the opinion of the court should be published, in justification of that officer's character.

General Sullivan arrived in the vicinity of Philadelphia about the first of September. Sir William Howe had already landed, at the head of the Elk, in Maryland, with eighteen thousand men, and though the American army was very inferior, in numbers, appointments, and condition, Washington determined to hazard a battle. He at first placed himself in the enemy's path, below Wilmington, but after some skirmishing between Maxwell's corps

and the British light troops, it became apparent that the British general's design was to turn his right and cut off his communication with Philadelphia, and he then withdrew from his position, and crossing to the left of the Brandywine, on the evening of the 9th, established his centre at Chad's Ford, twenty-five miles from the city. At Pyles's Ford, a mile and a half below, was the left wing; two miles above, near Brinton's Ford, with light troops and videttes extending a considerable distance further, was the right, under Sullivan; and Greene was stationed in the rear of the centre with a reserve. At daybreak, on the morning of the 11th, Generals Knyphausen and Grant began their advance from the British head-quarters at Kennett Square, General Maxwell retiring before them, till about ten o'clock, when they reached the high-ground on the right bank of the Brandywine, opposite and in full view of the American centre, upon which, without attempting to cross, they began a cannonade. Sullivan, meantime, had been directed to guard the stream as far up as Buffenton's Ford, and he confined his attention to that and the points below, not knowing that there were any accessible fords above. Soon after eleven o'clock, however, he received a message from Colonel Ross, advising him that a large body of the enemy, supposed to be immediately under the command of Sir William Howe, was crossing still higher up with a park of artillery. This information turned out to be correct. The main body of the British army, guided by the infamous Tory, Joseph Galloway, who was intimately acquainted both with the topography of the country, and the almost universal disaffection of the people, had with extraordinary secrecy at an early hour defiled to the left, and proceeded to fords, the existence of which was unknown to the American general, which it was now passing. Sullivan sent the information down to Washington, who directed him to attack immediately the approaching foe: but while he was

preparing to do so, different information, which seemnd perfectly reliable, was received from the point where the British were reported to have been seen, and Washington hastened to countermand the order. Thus the army remained for several hours, the centre only engaged, opposing the assault of Knyphausen, and in perfect ignorance of the chief movement of the enemy. It was near two o'clock before it was finally well understood that Howe and Cornwallis had succeeded in crossing at Jeffrey's Ford and were in full march upon the American right. A change of disposition was instantly made, and Sullivan's division was in the act of forming, on high ground near Birmingham meeting-house, when it was attacked by Cornwallis. Deborre's brigade quickly gave way, and was thrown into confusion. Sullivan vainly endeavoured to rally it, and then attempted with his artillery to sustain those who kept their ground; but after maintaining the action with great spirit and bravery for an hour and a half he was compelled to retreat. General Wayne, meantime, had been driven back from Chad's Ford by the superior numbers of Knyphausen, who advanced to force the passage as soon as he heard of the successful movement of the British upon the American right wing; Greene brought into the battle his reserve, to cover the retreat of Sullivan, and the scattered forces of the right and centre sustained the engagement with activity until night, when they retired without molestation, with their artillery and baggage. In the battle of Brandywine were Washington, Wayne, Greene, Sullivan, Lafayette, Stirling, Hamilton, and others of distinction, and General Heath well observes, that "there was no contest during the war in which the whole army appears to have been so entirely engaged." They were attacked at a moment in which no army can offer successful resistance; and the British were too fatigued to follow up their success. After leaving the meeting-house, there is no ground or space for a battle: the road is nar-

row, the country hilly, and even now covered with woods. A fight could only take place by detachments, and it was probably in this way that this was waged, which will account for the small number killed and wounded, and for the slight effect the defeat had on the spirits of the officers and men. They collected at Chester during the night, marched to Philadelphia the next day, and began soon after a series of fresh attacks upon the enemy. The armies met again on the Lancaster road, and a contest was commenced, when a sudden and a heavy fall of rain compelled the Americans to retire. On the 19th Washington prepared to dispute the passage of the Schuylkill, but the British general by a sudden movement crossed without opposition at a lower point, and gaining his rear, entered Philadelphia and Germantown on the 26th of September. The misfortunes at Brandywine were popularly charged upon Sullivan, and his conduct before and during the battle was investigated by order of Congress, but he was honourably acquitted by a court of inquiry. Washington declared that his whole conduct, so far as he could judge of it, was "spirited and active," and Lafayette wrote that "such courage as he showed that day will always deserve the praises of every one."

Washington in a few days took post at Skippack's Creek, about fourteen miles from Germantown, and on the evening of the third of October put his troops in motion with the design of surprising the main body of the enemy at that place. Sullivan and Wayne, the next morning, just after daybreak, leading the principal attack, completely surprised the enemy, and soon drove them more than a mile from the scene of their first encounter. Victory seemed to be certain, when, in the dense fog which prevailed, some mistakes occurred, a degree of confusion ensued, the course of success was checked, and the Americans retreated from the field. This important battle has been particularly described in previous

parts of the present work,* and it is here necessary only to observe that General Sullivan distinguished himself by the utmost intrepidity and bravery. The commander-in-chief remarked in his official account of the action: "In justice to General Sullivan and the whole right wing of the army, whose conduct I had an opportunity of observing, as they acted immediately under my eye, I have the pleasure to inform you that both officers and men behaved with a degree of gallantry that did them the highest honour."

After the army went into winter quarters at Valley Forge, General Sullivan for a time entertained an intention of resigning. He had laboured assiduously for the good of the country in every situation in which he had been placed, and had been the object of more than a common share of ungenerous attack; while his private affairs, from long neglect, were in a most unfortunate condition. Writing to Washington in the early part of 1778, for a short leave of absence, he says: "It would be tedious for me to mention my necessities in full. Let it suffice to say that I have exhausted my store of cash at home. I prohibited my clerk from calling in the money I had out on interest when the war began, as I knew the people would be sufficiently distressed without paying debts. My pay in the army has by no means made up for my losses and expenses. I need not remind your Excellency how far sixteen eightpences will fall short of maintaining my family, or remind you of my having been four times robbed by the British troops, viz: at New York, Long Island, New Rochelle, and Peekskill. This has reduced me so far that I have not clothes sufficient for another campaign, nor will my pay enable me to purchase. My own private fortune must make up my losses, and enable me in future to keep the field. This cannot

* See article Washington, i. 41.

be done while I remain here." At the request of the commander-in-chief, however, Sullivan consented to remain, and early in the following month he was appointed to the important separate command of the forces in Rhode Island.

The British at this time had six thousand men at Newport, well protected by various fortifications, and General Sullivan took up his head-quarters at Providence, with a very inferior force. The hopes of the Americans had been excited by intelligence of the alliance with France, and in July they were cheered with news of the arrival of Count d'Estaing with twelve ships of the line and twelve frigates, before the capes of the Delaware. Washington immediately entered into communication with the French admiral, and on the 17th of July, wrote to General Sullivan to augment his force to five thousand men, if it were possible, from the New England states, and on the 22d, despatched Lafayette and Greene with two brigades to his assistance; while D'Estaing set sail for the waters near Newport, where he arrived on the 29th, and received Sullivan to a personal conference on board his ship, where a plan of operations was concerted. The French troops, four thousand, were to land on the western side of the island, and the Americans, at the same time, approaching by way of Tiverton, were to land on the opposite side, under cover of the guns of a frigate. A portion of the reinforcements despatched by the commander-in-chief not arriving as soon as they were expected, some delay occurred, but it was finally determined that the attack should take place on the 10th of August; and on the 8th the French fleet passed up the channel without injury from the enemy's batteries, and the British commander withdrew his forces within their lines, in anticipation of the descent of the two armies upon the town. But when every thing was ready, and promised success, the British fleet under Lord Howe was

seen approaching the harbour, and the French admiral, paying no attention to the arrangements into which he had entered, put to sea. The disappointment and vexation caused by this unlooked-for proceeding were proportioned to the sanguine excitement with which they had looked for an engagement. General Sullivan, however, soon decided to undertake the siege of Newport with his independent army, which was now increased by the arrival of militia to ten thousand men; and orders were issued for the march of his forces on the morning of the 12th. But his plans were again prevented: on the night of the 11th a violent storm arose, which continued with unabated fury for three days, during which the troops were nearly all constantly exposed to the rain and wind. their health so impaired that a considerable number of them died, and their ammunition rendered useless. On the 15th, the sky became clear, and General Sullivan with his exhausted army took position within two miles of Newport, and opened a cannonade upon the fortifications, which were found, however, to be too strong to be carried without the aid of the fleet.

Meanwhile both the French and British fleets had suffered severely in the storm, and were compelled to return to port. The ships of D'Estaing were seen off Newport on the 19th, and hopes of united action and success were again entertained. Generals Greene and Lafayette went on board the ship of the French admiral, and exhausted their powers of persuasion in the vain effort to induce him to aid in this critical moment: he declared that in case of disaster his instructions were to proceed to Boston for repairs, and announced to Sullivan, in a letter, his intention immediately to do so. The whole American army was indignant, and all the principal officers, except Lafayette, signed a protest against his departure, as "derogatory to the honour of France, contrary to the intentions of his Most Christian Majesty, and to the interests

of his nation, destructive in the highest degree to the welfare of the United States, and highly injurious to the alliance formed between the two countries." This protest was ill-advised, and increased the unfortunate alienation between the Americans and their allies, which was not allayed until the subject received the attention of Washington, whose wise discretion alone was sufficient to restore amicable relations, and to soothe the excited feelings of the admiral and his officers. Upon the second withdrawal of the French fleet, the volunteers, whose continuance in the camp was dependent entirely upon their own pleasure, began to go away in masses, and in a few days General Sullivan had about him less than seven thousand men, not one fourth of whom had ever been in action; and as an attack upon the intrenchments of the enemy, defended by an equal number of experienced troops, was now out of the question, it was determined to relinquish the enterprise, and remove to a point on the northern part of the island, whence the main land might be reached with ease and safety. The retreat commenced on the night of the 28th, the rear of the army being covered by light parties under Colonels Laurens and Livingston; and early the next morning Sir Robert Pigot, the British commander, started in pursuit, and soon attacked the rear guard, who maintained their ground gallantly until ordered to fall back upon the main body, who had reached the works at Tiverton. General Pigot then attacked the American left, under General Glover, by whom he was repulsed, upon which he took up a position about a mile from the lines, on Quaker Hill, and at nine o'clock opened a cannonade. The Americans were now drawn up in three columns, the first in front of the works on Butt's Hill, the second in the rear of the hill, and the third about half a mile distant from the first, with a redoubt in front, a little to the right, and strong defences in the rear. While the firing was kept up between the

opposing lines, two British ships of war and several smaller vessels gained a station opposite the American right, but their guns were quickly silenced by batteries erected on the beach. At two o'clock General Pigot advanced and made a general attack, but was driven back after a short conflict, and the two armies confined themselves for the remainder of that and the following day to a desultory cannonade; and on the night of the 30th, General Sullivan, having heard of the approach of Sir Henry Clinton with reinforcements from New York, succeeded in making a masterly retreat to the main land, without loss or even discovery, and thus undoubtedly saved his entire army from capture.

The conduct of General Sullivan throughout this expedition into Rhode Island was warmly approved by the wisest men of the country. "If I am a judge," remarked General Greene, in a letter* to a gentleman who had complained of it, "the expedition has been prudently and well conducted; and I am confident there is not a general officer, from the commander-in-chief to the youngest in the field, who would have gone greater lengths to have given success to it, than General Sullivan. He is sensible, active, ambitious, brave, and persevering in his temper; and the object was sufficiently important to make him despise every difficulty opposed to his success, as far as he was at liberty to consult his reputation; but the public good is of more importance than personal glory, and the one is not to be gratified at the risk and expense of the other." On the 17th of September the thanks of Congress were voted to General Sullivan and the officers and soldiers under his command for their conduct in the action of the 29th of August, and the retreat of the next night was highly approved. The legislatures of New Hampshire and Rhode Island also expressed in an appro-

* Johnson's Life of Greene, vol. i. p. 198.

priate manner their sense of General Sullivan's zeal, discretion, and good conduct in the campaign.

General Sullivan remained in command in Rhode Island until the spring of 1779, but there were in this period no further military movements of importance; and in the summer of this year he was selected by General Washington to lead an army against the great Indian confederacy of the Iroquois, consisting of the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, Senecas, and Tuscaroras, whose terrible and continued outrages upon the north-western frontier, instigated and encouraged by the British, it was found necessary to punish with the most exemplary severity. The country inhabited by the Iroquois comprised northern Pennsylvania and western New York, one of the richest and most beautiful regions of the Union. Accompanied by the brigades of Maxwell, Poor, and Hand, Proctor's artillery, and a corps of riflemen, General Sullivan proceeded on the 31st of June, along the Susquehannah towards Wyoming, and on the 11th of July reached the confluence of that river with the Tioga, near which a fortress was erected and named Fort Sullivan, where he awaited the arrival of General Clinton, who was approaching with sixteen hundred men from Schenectady, by the Mohawk and the southern tier of lakes. General Clinton reached the camp with his brigade on the 22d of August; on the 28th the army, now consisting of about five thousand men, began its march, and on the third day after came near Newtown, (now Elmira,) where the celebrated chieftain Brant, or Thayendanegea, with Sir John Johnson, Captain Butler, and Captain Middleton, were stationed with a force of Indians, and British regulars and rangers, variously estimated at from eight to fifteen hundred, whom they routed with considerable loss. They proceeded with little further opposition, between the Cayuga and Seneca lakes, by Geneva and Canandaigua, and as far west as the Genesee river, destroying

numerous villages, fields of corn, orchards of fruit trees, and all descriptions of cattle, until the country was entirely laid waste, and the Indians were driven, utterly disheartened, to seek shelter and subsistence at the British fortress of Niagara, where more died of disease than had perished by the sword. Upon the termination of this expedition General Sullivan desired permission to retire from the military service, and in November his resignation was accepted by Congress, which passed a vote of thanks for his important and long continued services.

He soon after recommenced the practice of the law, in which he was eminently successful. In 1780, he accepted a seat in Congress, in which he remained during two sessions. He was several years attorney-general of New Hampshire, and was a member of the convention which formed her constitution, and president of that which adopted the constitution of the United States. He was president of the state from 1786 to 1789, and resigned that post in the latter year, to enter upon his duties as a justice of the Federal Court for the district of New Hampshire, which office he held until his death, which occurred at his residence in Durham, on the 23d of January, 1795, when he was nearly fifty-five years of age.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL HUGH MERCER.

One hundred years ago, the British empire had a wide and peaceful sovereignty. Its metropolitan and colonial authority was secure and undisputed. The promises of a revolution, which had changed the tenure of the sovereign if not ascertained the rights of the subject, were realized in new limits to prerogative, new security to parliament, new impulse to industry, and new protection to the people. The sober reason of the British nation approved the administration of the government. But between this sober judgment, with all the strength which gratitude for these blessings gave it, and the affections of the people, there was still a struggle; and the naturalized princes of the house of Brunswick, whom the revolution had placed upon the throne, from time to time were made to feel that sympathy for a family of exiled native princes was lurking in the bosoms of their subjects. In Scotland, bound to England by what was then thought an unnatural union, these sympathies were most active; and the memory of her native princes, loyalty to the name of Stuart—the sight of deserted palaces—a buried crown and sceptre, were cherished in the Scottish heart with devotion that burned not the less intensely because it burned in secret. There was scarcely a Highland dell or Lowland castle, which had not secret worshippers kneeling in proud devotion at an empty shrine.

On the 19th July, 1745, a small armed vessel appeared off the coast of Moidart. It came to anchor, and there landed on the Scottish shores a young and gallant prince. He came to claim what he proudly called his own, and he claimed it through the affections of loyal Scotland. The

banner which Charles Edward unfurled to an astonished people, on the hills of Glenfinnan, on the 19th August, 1745, was an emblem from which adversity had purged the stains with which an ancestry of tyrants had disfigured it; and to the forgiving eye of loyal enthusiasm it seemed to float in the light of brighter and better days—the sunshine which the new dominion was to shed on darkened and oppressed Scotland.

It is easy for what is called the enlightened intelligence of this day, to look back with contemptuous pity on the enthusiasm which promoted and sustained this wild attempt; but who, in the pride of historical presumption,—the insolence of doubt, will question the true chivalry and romantic patriotism of the many gallant men, who, either without pausing to consider, or in defiance of their better judgment, espoused Charles Edward's cause, and hazarded their lives,—for the dread penalties of treason hung over all, the high and the low, the chieftain and the clansman, who shared in the bold effort of desperate enthusiasm. The brief history of this enterprise, the invading march, the sullen retreat, its young leader's rapid alternations of hope, of confidence and despair, justified by miraculous victories and bloody reverses, need not here be told. It is part of Scotland's household history, and is embalmed in the brightest and most beautiful romance of Scotland's master mind.

On the night of the 15th April, 1746, two gallant armies were stretched in uneasy slumber on the moors of Culloden; the one a remnant of those enthusiasts, who, in a cause which their gallantry enobled, had carried terror to the centre of the empire; the other a well disciplined, well appointed army, led to sure victory by an experienced leader, and restless to wash away the discredit which recent defeat had thrown upon them. On either side of that array was more than one brave man, destined to shed his blood in other conflicts and on a distant soil. In

the British army was Sir Peter Halket, who perished in Braddock's defeat, on the banks of the Monongahela. Marching to the Pretender's standard was the young Master of Lovat, afterwards Major-General Fraser, who now rests in an unknown grave on the heights of Saratoga. At the head of an English regiment, was Colonel James Wolfe, the hero of Louisburg and Quebec—and, by one of the Highland watchfires, in Charles Edward's camp, there lay a stripling of twenty-three years of age—a youth who had left the peaceful occupation for which he was educated, to serve a bloody apprenticeship in the rebel cause. This young man was Hugh Mercer, then an assistant surgeon in the Highland army.

Every reader knows the horrors of the next day. It was Scotland's second Flodden field. The blood of her bravest sons was poured out like water, the Prince for whom their blood was generously shed became a proscribed wanderer, and his followers, those who escaped the carnage of that dark day, and the bloody penalties of the British law, like their Prince, were forced to seek safety in exile.

Early in the following year, Mercer bade Scotland an eternal farewell, and embarked at Leith in a vessel bound to Philadelphia. Of the circumstances of his emigration and arrival, nothing is known except that he left his native country in consequence of participation in the rebellion, and that he settled on what was then considered the western frontier of this province, near the present village of Mercersburg, in Franklin county. Tradition has not told us the motives of this remote and secluded residence, nor do we know in what occupation, or with what aim, Mercer was engaged, till we find him a captain in the provincial forces which were raised on the breaking out of the French and Indian war of 1755.

The brief experience of irregular military life acquired

in Charles Edward's enterprise was of value to a frontier settler, whose life was one of constant vigilance and exposure. For a series of years prior to the continental war, the Indian tribes on our western frontiers, stimulated by the artifices of French emissaries, were making constant aggressions on the settlements. The aid of the metropolitan government had been invoked and afforded, and Braddock's ill-starred enterprise had shown the inefficacy of regular warfare against savages, whose defiance of discipline seemed to be the secret of their strength. From the Susquehanna to the Alleghany the unbroken forest was tenanted by hostile tribes, and scarcely a sun went down upon the settlements without the glare of some burning village, and the shrieks of women and children arising to break the gloom and silence of the night, until at last the colonial legislature, harassed beyond endurance by these repeated inroads, determined to raise an adequate force, and by the vigour of their own arms give security to their citizens.

The victorious result which ensued is worthy of especial remembrance. A battalion of three hundred men was organized and equipped, and despatched under the command of Colonel John Armstrong, to penetrate the Indian country, and strike a decisive blow on one of their most remote and important positions.

The leader of this enterprise was one of the most remarkable men of his time. To fearless intrepidity of the highest cast, there was united in his character a strong sense of religious responsibility, that rarely blends with military sentiment. He belonged to that singular race of men, the Scottish Covenanters, in whom austerity was a high virtue, and who, in the conflicts to which persecution trained them, never drew the sword, or struck a mortal blow, without the confidence which enthusiasm seemed to give, that agencies higher and stronger than human

means were battling in their behalf, and that their sword, whether bloodless or bloody, was always "the sword of the Lord." Educated in these sentiments, John Armstrong never swerved from them. He was foremost in his country's ranks, whether her cause was defence against a foreign foe, or revolt against oppression—in the colonial conflicts as well as in the war of the Revolution. He was always known to kneel in humble devotion and earnest prayer before he went into battle, and never seemed to doubt in the midst of the battle's fury that the work of blood was sanctified to some high purpose. Under this leader. did young Mercer—for a common sympathy, at least on this soil, united the Jacobite and the Cameronian—fight his first American battle; and it was in the arms of the son of this his ancient general, that he was carried mortally wounded from the bloody field of Princeton.

The enterprise of the Pennsylvania troops in 1756, was one of peculiar interest. They marched from Fort Shirley to the Alleghany river, through a country known to be hostile, and reached the Indian town of Kittaning, within twenty-five miles of the French garrison of Fort Du Quesne, without the enemy being aware of their approach. The troops were immediately, about the dawn of day, led to the assault, and after a short and bloody conflict, in which most of the principal Indian chiefs were killed, and nearly every officer of rank among the provincials wounded, the town was carried by storm and utterly destroyed.

During the assault, Mercer was severely wounded, and being obliged to retire to the rear of the column, in the confusion incident to such warfare, he became separated from his men on the retreat, and found himself on the night of the battle, alone and wounded, and obliged to regain the settlements with no other guidance than that which nature gives to the solitary wanderer—the stars of heaven and the winter garb of the forest. In the official report made by Colonel Armstrong is the following return: "Cap-

tain Mercer's company—himself and one man wounded—seven killed—himself and ensign are missing." But the spirit of the Scottish soldier, of one who had witnessed more ghastly scenes of carnage, and encountered worse perils than the forest threatened, in the flight to Inverness when Christian savages tracked their flying victims, did not sink; but though alone, faint with loss of blood and with a shattered arm, after reposing for a few hours on the field of recent conflict, he commenced his desolate pilgrimage. For days and weeks did he wander through the forest, dependent for sustenance on its roots and berries, until at last striking the waters which empty into the Potomac, he was enabled, when exhausted nature seemed just about to sink, to reach Fort Cumberland.

See Hazard's Reg. of Pa. p. 367

On the reorganization of the provincial forces in 1758, when the daring spirit of the great man at the head of the English ministry seemed to be infused into every branch of the public service. Mercer, promoted to the rank of a lieutenant-colonel, accompanied the army of General Forbes, and being present at the reduction of Fort Du Quesne, was left by the commander-in-chief in charge of that important post. It was on this expedition that he became acquainted with Washington, then a colonel in the Virginia line, an acquaintance which soon ripened into intimacy, and exercised so vast an influence on his future career. How perilous a trust was confided to Colonel Mercer, and how faithfully and successfully he discharged it, may be inferred from Washington's ominous declaration in a letter to Governor Fauquier, in December, 1758. "The general has in his letters," says he, "told you what garrison he proposed to leave at Fort Du Quesne, but the want of provisions rendered it impossible to leave more than two hundred men in all; and these must I fear abandon the place or perish. Our men left there are in such a miserable condition, having hardly rags to cover their nakedness, and exposed to the inclemency of the weather

in this rigorous season, that sickness, death, and desertion, if they are not speedily supplied, must destroy them." Mercer maintained the post and remained with the garrison till it was relieved, when he retired from the service, and having permanently fixed his residence at Fredericksburg, in Virginia, resumed the practice of his profession.

We now approach the opening of the great chapter of American history.

The repose which the colonies enjoyed between the peace of 1763 and the beginning of the Revolution, was short and restless. The young nation lay, not in the slumber of exhaustion, but in the fitful sleep which the consciousness of a great futurity allows. It slept too with arms by its side, and there needed but the trumpet's feeblest note to arouse it to an action. The involuntary concord of the colonies at the outbreak of the Revolution is one of its most singular characteristics. It was a concord that transcended all mere political relations—it was beyond and above all political union. It was the instinctive appreciation of common right, the quick sense of common injury. There seemed to be but one frame, and when the hand of tyranny was rudely laid on a single member, the whole system quivered beneath the contact, and braced itself to resistance.

The three great colonies, Virginia, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania, differing in manners, habits, and opinions on most topics, on this of resistance knew no discord; and the signal had scarcely been lighted at Lexington and Bunker Hill, when an answering fire started upwards from the shores of the Potomac.

The battle of Lexington was brought on 19th April, 1775, and on the 25th, six days later, the following characteristic letter was written to Colonel Washington, then by common consent regarded as the leader of all the Virginia forces, should she raise the standard of revolt. It is dated at Fredericksburg.

249

"By intelligence received from Williamsburg it appears that Captain Collins, of his majesty's navy, at the head of fifteen marines, carried off the powder from the magazine of that city, on the night of Thursday last, and conveyed it on board his vessel, by order of the governor. The gentlemen of the independent company of this town think this first public insult is not to be tamely submitted to, and determine, with your approbation, to join any other bodies of armed men who are willing to appear in support of the honour of Virginia, as well as to secure the military stores yet remaining in the magazine. It is proposed to march from hence on Saturday next for Williamsburg, properly accoutred as light-horsemen. Expresses are sent off to inform the commanding officers of companies in the adjacent counties of this our resolution, and we shall wait prepared for your instructions and their assistance.

"HUGH MERCER.
"GEORGE WEEDON.
"ALEX'R. SPOTTSWOOD.
"JOHN WILLIS."

On the 29th, the volunteers of Albemarle—for the chivalry of Virginia was all in arms—sent Washington a letter to the same effect, bearing the names of Gilmer—a name honoured then and honoured now—of Lewis, and Marks. Its postscript was, "We shall stand under arms till we have your answer."

In June, 1775, George Washington was chosen commander-in-chief, and early in the following year, the American army then being in the neighbourhood of New York, Colonel Mercer received from Congress his commission as a brigadier-general. It is not improbable that his services were solicited at this juncture at the instance of Washington himself, as it appears from his correspondence, that the commander-in-chief repaired to Philadelphia to concert with Congress plans for the organization of the army, and

that he remained there until the day after the date of Mercer's commission, and those of two others of his most valued friends. General Mercer soon left, and for ever, his peaceful home, his young wife and children, and joined the army at New York.

And now before approaching the closing scenes of an eventful life, let us pause, and, writing for citizens of a peaceful age, let us ask all to think gratefully of the contrast of the present to the past. In the Revolution, there was no prosperous industry,—no steady pursuit,—no systematic economy. The frame of society was dislocated. The cloud of civil war hung low upon the land, and if a ray of sunlight victory sometimes broke forth to cheer the earth, it was answered by a lurid flash from dark masses impending elsewhere. There was no rest in the Revolution, and the gentle dawn of a peaceful Sabbath rarely brightened on the Christian heart. The only prayer which rose to Heaven was the prayer of the armed sentinel. Yet man, American man, repined not,—home was abandoned,—families separated,—the husband and father left his fireside without a murmur. The selfish sentiment of this day, that the first duty of a citizen is to himself and his own interests, no one then dared avow. The native hue of resolution was sicklied with no pale cast of those poor thoughts which make even the virtue of God's ministers a cloistered virtue. The voice of God's ministers spoke from the pulpit boldly to the men of the Revolution, and uttered, within the walls of Congress, the prayer of humble confidence to the God of righteous battles. To a Jesuit, from St. Omers, was confided a public trust which he faithfully and gratefully discharged. The most eloquent man, after John Adams and Patrick Henry, in the old Congress, was a Scottish Presbyterian divine, whose intellect, strengthened in the fierce polemics of a Glasgow synod, had full sway and vast influence in the anxious deliberations of revolutionary council. No mo-

nastic scruple kept these men from the performance of their public duties.

The tale of those endurances and sacrifices has yet to be written. Our military and civil history is studied and understood, but how few are there who know any thing of that household story of self-immolation and devotion, which, as a moral theme, makes the chief value of the Revolution's annals. There is many a rich tradition,—the yet unwritten story of those who, like Mercer, never, from the commencement of the struggle, left their country's service; generous and unrewarded men, who devoted their prime of life, as he did, and, with broken spirits and disappointed hopes, lay down in early graves. And rich indeed will be our recompense, if these pages, or any one word upon them, shall give vigour to the interest that America should feel in her early history, and new life to the great principle of republican loyalty, which, binding us together by veneration of a glorious ancestry, is the republic's best security.

The first campaign in which General Mercer participated in the continental service, was crowded with incidents of high interest. It immediately preceded the great change in our military policy, which made the war one of offensive enterprise, and to no one more than to him is that change attributable. The battle on Long Island, the retreat to New York, the evacuation of that city, contrary to the advice of Mercer, who was perhaps wisely overruled, and of Greene whose bold counsel it was to burn the city to the ground, the battle of White Plains, the fall of Fort Washington, the projected attack on Staten Island confided to Mercer, and the retreat through New Jersey, were the prominent incidents of this eventful period. Throughout it all, Mercer was in active service under the immediate orders of the commander-in-chief, to whose affections he was closely endeared.

As early as the 8th of December, 1776, the broken re-

mains of the American army had taken their last desperate position on the western bank of the Delaware, and gloomy and perplexed were its desponding councils. A large and well appointed British army had driven the few troops that remained in service before them through New Jersey, and the river, rendered more formidable by the floating ice, appeared to be the only barrier to their farther advance. Congress, reduced in numbers, and broken in spirit, was losing its power of self-support, and Philadelphia, then the nation's capital, seemed destined to a certain fall.

It was at a moment like this when, in worse than midnight gloom, terror and perplexity seemed to sway the mind of man, that the influence of Washington was so sublimely realized. The ordinary virtue of the daring soldier was thrown into the shade by the rarer and brighter developments of his character; and Washington, at that moment of prevalent despair, himself desponding in spirit, but outwardly calm, collected, and resolute, the recipient of rash and timid counsels, the guardian of a broken and dispirited army, the supporter and best counsellor of Congress, who, in this moment of extremity threw all the duties of a sinking state on him, is as fine a spectacle as the history of the world, ancient or modern, can exhibit.

The annals of the Revolution have no period of gloom like this. Evil counsels and insubordination aggravated Washington's just solicitude. Phantoms and realities alike perplexed the public mind. On the 10th of December, he wrote to General Lee a letter of almost desperate supplication to induce him with his troops instantly to join the main body of the army, and on the 14th, relying on its success, he intimated in a letter to Governor Trumbull his intention, if Lee joined him, to make an offensive movement on the enemy. On the day before, Lee, then stationed at Basken Ridge, wrote to General Gates a letter, strongly characteristic of his ill-regulated mind, and of that spirit of morbid jealousy which was his ruin. "If I

stay in this province, I risk myself and army, and if I do not stay, the province is lost for ever. I have neither guides, cavalry, medicines, money, shoes or stockings. Tories are in my front, rear, and on my flanks. The mass of the people is strangely contaminated; in short, unless something turns up which I do not expect, we are lost. Congress has been weak to the last degree. As to what relates to yourself, if you think you can be in time to aid the general, I would have you by all means go. You will at least save your army. It is said the whigs are determined to set fire to Philadelphia. If they strike this decisive blow the day will be our own, but unless it is done all chance of liberty in any part of the globe is for ever vanished."

The ink was scarcely dry upon this letter when Lee was made prisoner in his quarters by a party of British dragoons, and the hopes of the commander-in-chief of his co-operation entirely frustrated.

The situation of Philadelphia at this dark hour, it is not easy for us in this peaceful day to realize. A British frigate and sloop of war were at anchor within the capes of the Delaware, and large bodies of Hessian and British troops were encamped within a few miles, in New Jersey. "It was just dark," says a military traveller who witnessed the desolation, "when we entered Front street, and it appeared as if we were riding through a city of the dead. Such was the silence and stillness which prevailed, that the dropping of a stone would have been heard for several squares, and the hoofs of our horses resounded in all directions." On the 12th and 13th December, General Putnam, then in command at Philadelphia, issued his memorable orders, which tell a gloomy tale of popular alarm.

"The late advances of the enemy oblige the general to request the inhabitants of this city not to appear in the streets after ten o'clock at night, as he has given orders to the picket guard to arrest and confine all persons who may

be found in the streets after that hour. Physicians and others, having essential business after that hour, are directed to call at headquarters for passes.

"The general has been informed that some weak or wicked men have maliciously reported that it is the design and wish of the officers and men in the continental army to burn and destroy the city of Philadelphia. To counteract such a false and scandalous report he thinks it necessary to inform the inhabitants who propose to remain in the city, that he has received positive orders from the honourable continental Congress, and from his excellency General Washington, to secure and protect the city of Philadelphia against all invaders and enemies. The general will consider any attempt to burn the city as a crime of the blackest dye, and will, without ceremony, punish capitally any incendiary who shall have the hardiness and cruelty to attempt it. The general commands all able-bodied men who are not conscientiously scrupulous about bearing arms, and who have not been known heretofore to have entertained such scruples, to appear in the State House yard at ten o'clock with their arms and accoutrements. This order must be complied with, the general being resolutely determined that no person shall remain in the city an idle spectator of the present contest who has it in its power to injure the American cause, or who may refuse to lend his aid in support of it, persons under conscientious scruples alone excepted."

Nor was Congress free from the infection of that hour of alarm. The published proceedings indicate the gloom which oppressed its deliberations. The secret resolves, as communicated to General Washington, show at once the uncertainty of their counsels, and the far reaching sagacity of him whose conduct Congress professed to regulate. On the 11th of December Congress passed a resolution denouncing as scandalous a rumour which was then current, that they intended to leave Philadelphia. It was

communicated to Washington, with a request that it should be published to the army. On the 12th he wrote to Congress, declining to accede to their request, and frankly saying, that in his judgment such a resolution and its publication were alike inexpedient. And on the next day Congress resolved to adjourn precipitately to Baltimore, and conferred on Washington full and unlimited powers to conduct the war as he pleased.

What secret thoughts, what hidden despair oppressed the mind of Washington, it is difficult to conceive. His letters, private and official, breathe the spirit of calm and abiding confidence, that the cause of liberty would yet prosper, though the means by which the result was to be achieved were unseen. "Our little handful is daily decreasing by sickness and other causes; and without aid, without considerable succours and exertions on the part of the people, what can we reasonably look for or expect but an event which will be severely felt by the common cause, and will wound the heart of every virtuous American, the loss of Philadelphia." In a letter to his brother on the 18th, he says, "I have no doubt but General Howe will still make an attempt on Philadelphia this winter. I foresee nothing to prevent him a fortnight hence, as the time of all the troops except those of Virginia, now reduced almost to nothing, and Smallwood's regiment of Marylanders, equally as low, will expire before the end of that time. In a word, if every nerve is not strained to recruit the new army with all possible expedition, I think the game is nearly up. You can form no idea of the perplexity of my situation. No man ever had a greater choice of difficulties, and less means to extricate himself from them. But under a full persuasion of the justice of our cause, I cannot entertain an idea that it will finally sink, though it may remain for some time under a cloud."

It was at this desperate crisis, when hope seemed dead, that in the American camp the suggestion was made to

change the policy of the war, and make a sudden movement on the detached outposts of the enemy, then scattered carelessly through New Jersey, from Brunswick to Trenton. With whom this plan originated, history has not precisely ascertained. If, as is most probable, it was the council of war, it may have had its origin in many a brave but desponding spirit. Certain it is, that it received its best encouragement from the success of an appeal made to the volunteers and militia of Philadelphia, who, to the number of more than 1500 men, marched to the camp near Trenton.

As early as the 14th December, the idea of an attack seems to have suggested itself to the mind of the commander-in-chief, but to have been dependent on a junction with General Lee, then supposed to be in the rear of the enemy, but who was really their prisoner. A witness who within a few years has sunk into the grave, thus ascribes this movement.* "Two or three days after we had crossed the Delaware, there were several meetings between the adjutant-general and General Mercer, at which I was permitted to be present; the questions were discussed whether the propriety and practicability did not exist of carrying the outposts of the enemy, and ought not to be attempted. On this point no disagreement existed between the generals, and, to remove objections in other quarters, it was determined they should separately open the subject to the commander-in-chief, and to such officers as would probably compose his council of war, if any should be called. I am sure the first of these meetings was at least ten days before the attack on Trenton was made." On the 18th, news of an intended attack were current in Philadelphia, and, on the 21st, General Greene wrote from camp to the governor of Rhode Island, that he hoped that an attack would soon be made.

* General (then Major) Armstrong, an aid of General Mercer.

On the next day, the adjutant-general, Colonel Reed, wrote from Bristol a letter of urgent solicitation, which no doubt expressed the sentiment of a large portion of the officers of the army, and indicated Trenton, or its immediate vicinity, as the best point of attack.* Such suggestions, thus urged by his most valued friends,—by Greene, by Mercer, and Reed, met with a ready response in the breast of Washington, and the plan of attack was soon concerted. The Philadelphia and New Jersey troops were to cross the Delaware below, while the main body of the army,—if such a phrase be applicable to a remnant so meagre,—under Washington, Mercer, and Sullivan, crossing above Trenton, were to attack the enemy there. But even then the hope of a successful issue seemed desperate; and two days before the battle, Washington wrote to Robert Morris in a tone of deep solicitude—"For God's sake hurry on the clothing to my suffering men. Leave no arms or valuable papers in the city, for sure I am that the enemy wait for two events alone to begin their operations on Philadelphia,—ice for a passage over the Delaware, and the dissolution of the poor remains of my debilitated army."

On the night before the battle, Washington wrote his last letter to the commanders of the Philadelphia troops. "The bearer is sent down to know if your plan was attempted last night; and if not, to inform you that Christmas day at night, one hour before day, is fixed for our attempt on Trenton. For Heaven's sake keep this to yourself, as the discovery may prove fatal to us; our numbers, sorry am I to say, being less than I had any conception of, but necessity—dire necessity may, nay, must justify an attack. Prepare your men and attack as many of their posts as you possibly can with any prospect of success. I have ordered our men three days provision

* Sparks's Washington, vol. iv. p. 542.

and their blankets, for if we are successful, which Heaven grant, we shall push on."

The issue of that enterprise need not be told. It turned the tide of war, and gave an impulse to popular feeling which was in strange contrast to previous despondency. Amid the darkness of a winter night did Washington lead the remnant of his shattered army on this desperate enterprise, and a brief and bloody conflict terminated in a glorious victory. The column of attack operating on the main street leading from Princeton, was commanded by Mercer, and became the most efficient in obstructing the retreat of the enemy.

It is unnecessary to trace in detail the military operations that immediately followed the victory at Trenton. It was no sooner won than the American army with the prisoners recrossed the Delaware, and resumed their former position. Here they remained till the 29th, when offensive operations were renewed. General Washington again entered New Jersey, and the British army advanced, the reconnoitring parties being at Trenton, to recover the ground they had lost.

On the night of the 2d January, 1777, the American camp was the scene of anxious council. The panic which the unexpected blow at Trenton inspired had subsided, and the British army in full force had resumed their position, and looked forward to the next day for the consummation of their revenge. A small creek alone separated the two armies. Each seemed in deep repose, and the sentry of either camp as he paced his weary round looked out upon the watchfires of the enemy burning brightly and steadily, and felt assured that the presence of a vindictive or desperate foe insured a bloody day to-morrow. Night had scarcely closed before a council of war was held by the Americans, and anxious attention bestowed on the only two questions then deemed worth consideration, whether a retreat were advisable, or whether the attack of a supe-

rior force should be encountered on this a field of recent victory. Each seemed alike desperate—the difficulty of their position was too apparent, the overwhelming force of the enemy rendered defence impracticable, and an almost impassable river, at least to an army in hasty retreat, in their rear, closed all avenue to escape. Then it was, that Mercer threw out the bold idea that one course had not yet been thought of, and this was to order up the Philadelphia militia, make a night march on Princeton—attack the two British regiments said to be there under Lesley, continue the march to Brunswick, and destroy the magazines at that post. "And where," was Washington's question, "can the army take post at Brunswick?—my knowledge of the country does not enable me to say." General Sinclair gave a full and clear description of the hilly country between Morristown and Brunswick, and the night march, as suggested by Mercer, was after brief discussion agreed to without dissent. Each officer hastened to the head of his corps, and, before the dawn of day, the brilliant manœuvre thus suggested, gloriously for his country, fatally for himself, was successfully executed.

The night was dark and intensely cold. There was no moon, but the stars were watching from a cloudless sky the doings of that midnight hour. Sleep had begun to steal over the tired soldier of either army, but the steady eye of watchful discipline, the experienced ear that so easily detects a hostile movement, whether of attack or retreat, slept not. The British generals, sure of to-morrow's victory, watched closely the camp of the Americans. The sound of the party working on the intrenchments at the ford was distinctly heard—the watchfires burned brightly and freshly, the sentinels were plainly seen marching steadily and silently, and all seemed well. The rebel victim was safe within the toils. But as the gray of the dawn was visible, and the first note of the British reveille was sounded, no answering drum was heard. A moment

of expectation, and still no echo to the soldier's call—all was silent as the grave—till suddenly there burst forth the strange sound of winter thunder in the British rear. "What can that firing be?" is said to have been Lord Cornwallis's anxious and incredulous question. "My lord," was the prompt reply of Sir William Erskine, "it is Washington at Princeton."

In that night march, to him who had suggested the movement was intrusted the command of the advanced party. As the day broke a large body of British troops was discovered apparently in march to Trenton, and after pausing to confer with Washington, who arrived on the field in a short time, the bold design was formed and executed by Mercer, of throwing his brigade between the enemy and their reserve at Princeton, and thus forcing on a general action. The movement was carried into effect. The fall of Colonel Hazlet, mortally wounded, at the head of his men, threw them into momentary confusion, and General Mercer's horse being killed by the enemy's fire, he was left alone and dismounted on the field. Disdaining to surrender, and indignant at the apparent confusion of his men, he encountered, single handed, a detachment of the enemy, and being beaten to the earth by the butts of their muskets, was savagely and mortally stabbed by their bayonets. The struggle of that day was as brief as it was bloody, and with the loss of many of the bravest officers; of Hazlet, of Shippen, of Fleming, of Neal, and Mercer, the American troops remained in possession of the field so hardly won.

Within a short time, Major Armstrong, the general's aid, found him lying bleeding and insensible on the field. He was removed to a neighbouring farm, where he lingered in extreme suffering (the house being alternately occupied by British and American parties) till the 12th January, when, breathing his last prayer for his young and helpless family and his bleeding country, he expired in the

arms of Major George Lewis, a fellow-citizen of his beloved Virginia, and nephew of Washington.

Nor was his dying bed a bed of utter desolation. The house whither the wounded soldier was carried was tenanted, during that day, by two delicate females, who, wearing the garb and professing the principles of peace, were too brave to fly from the field of battle, or the bed of death. While the conflict raged around their humble dwelling, these two tender, helpless women, lost no confidence in the protection which the God of innocence rarely withholds—and when the dying warrior was brought to their threshold and left beneath their roof, their ministering charities were ready to soothe his solitary anguish and smooth the passage to the grave. One of these American women of better times has died near Princeton within the last few years, aged upwards of ninety years. It was part of *her* household story that she had watched the deathbed of a soldier of the Revolution.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN ARMSTRONG.

In giving the history of General Mercer the character of John Armstrong is sketched so fully* that we have here to add but a few dates. He resided in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, during the French war, and in 1756 marched with two hundred and fifty provincials from Fort Shirley to Kittanning, on the Allegheny, the rendezvous of a large party of hostile Indians, which he destroyed. On the first of March, 1776, he was appointed a brigadier-general in the continental service; on the 17th of February, 1777, was ordered to the southern department; and on the 4th of April left the army on account of dissatisfaction in regard to rank. He subsequently commanded the Pennsylvania militia at Brandywine and Germantown. He was in Congress in 1778 and 1787, and died at an advanced age in Carlisle, on the 9th of March, 1795.

* Ante, p. 218.

MAJ. GEN. HENRY KNOX.

Knox

MAJOR-GENERAL HENRY KNOX.

Henry Knox was born in Boston, in the year 1750. He had the misfortune to lose his father at an early age. His education was intrusted to his mother, who could only bestow upon him such instruction as her limited means could command. His devotion to his widowed parent early incited him to exertion, and before the age of twenty-one, he had established himself in a lucrative business as a bookseller. He exhibited in his youth a great fondness for military tactics, and attached himself as an officer to a grenadier company, whose manœuvres elicited the praise of a distinguished British officer then in Boston.

When hostilities between the mother country and the colonies began to attract public attention and to assume a threatening appearance, Knox espoused the cause of his country. He had married the daughter of a gentleman, who for a long time had held an office under the British government, and who was known to be an uncompromising Tory. Fortunately for Knox his wife was deaf to the arguments of her father, and adopted his own views. When hostilities began to take a tangible form, Knox openly advocated the colonial interest. During the first opposition to England, and the oppressive measures advocated by her representatives, he was only a looker on; but when he deemed it the duty of every American to join the standard so boldly raised in defence of our provincial rights, he commenced that career which added such lustre to his name, and secured to him a place among the revolutionary heroes.

He was at the battle of Bunker Hill as a volunteer. He had some difficulty in escaping from Boston to join the

provincials. His wife accompanied him and concealed beneath her dress the sword which was destined, in the hands of her "liege lord," to carve out the path of glory upon which he strode to immortality. When Washington arrived in Cambridge, as commander-in-chief, Knox presented himself and tendered his services. They were accepted. It was a matter of serious consideration how ordnance was to be procured for our army. Without artillery nothing could be effected against the proud foe, who then held possession of the capital of the north, and who looked contemptuously at that time upon the insurrection of the oppressed freemen, whom they regarded as misled rebels. Knox knew the want of this arm of our service and fully appreciated our inability to contend against a well provided enemy without it. The only cannon to be had were then to be found among our decayed fortifications on the Canadian frontier. It seemed impossible to obtain them from such a distance, especially as our army was too weak to detach the force required to procure their transport, and an inclement season was at hand.

With an ardour of enterprise which few possessed, Knox volunteered to bring the ordnance to the camp. Relying upon such aid as he might obtain from the thinly populated country through which he had to pass, and never yielding to the despondency that might have deterred a less bold and less persevering spirit, he gallantly undertook the task, and gallantly accomplished it. The perils of a northern winter, the thousand obstacles that opposed him, not only in the character of the region he had to traverse, but in the want of the requisite aid, were all nobly surmounted, and he brought to the assistance of our cause the weapons most needed to insure its success. This act stamped the character of Knox. Washington appreciated his services, and immediately rewarded him with the command of the artillery.

Among the incidents of this enterprise, we cannot for-

bear to mention the accidental meeting of Knox with André, that unhappy officer whose fate was so deeply deplored by those of both nations who knew and esteemed his accomplishments and gentleman-like deportment. Knox was delighted with him, and such was the impression made upon his mind that, in after years, when called upon to pronounce sentence as a member of that tribunal which condemned him, he confessed the friendship he had formed, but made his painful duty doubly bitter.

During the continuance of the war, the corps of artillery was always attached to the main body of our army. This position brought its commander into constant attendance upon Washington. His arm of the service was deemed an essential auxiliary to the movements of the campaign. An intimacy thus sprung up between the commander-in-chief and Knox, which continued until the hour of death, and gave birth to a mutual confidence and esteem that time but strengthened. *Knox was in every battle where Washington fought.*

The sphere in which he achieved his renown, was, until the siege of Yorktown, confined to the northern and middle states. After the battle of Whiteplains, Washington deemed it expedient to retreat farther south, and crossed the Delaware, leaving the British in possession of New York. Having received reinforcements from Maryland and Virginia, he suddenly recrossed the river, and achieved his brilliant victories at Trenton and Princeton, in the very hour when Lord Cornwallis deemed the American army annihilated. In these battles Knox bore a conspicuous and important part.

In 1777, when Sir William Howe's design upon Philadelphia became apparent, Washington met the advancing enemy at Brandywine, and opposed our scanty forces to the full strength of the British army. All efforts against such odds proved unavailing; the Americans retreated, yet Knox shielded that retreat in such a manner that many

were saved from the sword of the foe. On the 26th of September Sir William Howe made his triumphal entrance into Philadelphia. The battle of Germantown followed on the 4th of October, and in this contest, which gave at first such bright promise to our arms—a promise that was sadly disappointed—Knox won fresh laurels by his daring conduct, his judgment, and the skilful management of his command. The winter drew nigh, and our army went into winter quarters at Valley Forge.

At no period of our history did our cause assume so desperate a character as at this moment. The stoutest heart was unable to contemplate the gloomy future without fearful apprehensions. Without clothing, without food, without pay, exposed to the relentless storms of that inclement season, our army might well murmur, and they did complain bitterly; and it was a solemn task—to quiet the reproaches of his men—that Washington then had to perform. In this dark hour Knox seemed to cherish a prophetic confidence in our cause. To judge from his letters written at this time, he possessed a firm reliance upon our ultimate success, and although he was well aware of our destitute condition, and was keenly alive to the trials yet to be endured, his faith in our triumph never forsook him, nor did his noble heart even once yield to despondency. His confidence and example had their effect. Although the battles alluded to had been severe, the most trying conflict of the Revolution had yet to be encountered. The battle of Monmouth was the most bloody contest of them all. In this struggle Knox was slightly wounded in the hand, but he contributed such signal aid with his artillery, and exhibited so much cool bravery, and skilful management of his ordnance, that even the enemy bestowed unqualified praise upon his gallant behaviour. In his general orders, Washington expressed the highest and most marked encomiums upon his conduct and services.

At the siege of Yorktown, Knox added fresh lustre to his name. In that memorable siege, which resulted in the surrender of Lord Cornwallis on the 19th of October, 1781, and secured the great end of the Revolution, he gave more essential assistance than any other officer. Thacher, in his Military Journal, says, "his animated exertions, his military skill, his cool and determined bravery, in this triumphant struggle, received the unanimous approbation of his brethren in arms." His services were at once recognised by Congress, who bestowed upon him the commission of a major-general.

He was afterwards appointed with two other commissioners to adjust the terms of peace. He executed this delicate negotiation in a most creditable manner, and much to the satisfaction of the country. He was also deputed to receive the surrender of the city of New York, on the 25th of November, 1783, and subsequently was appointed to the command of West Point. Here ends his military career.

We find Knox upon the field, in the camp, in the councils of his commander-in-chief, ever the brave, self-sacrificing, daring, cool, wise and noble soldier and patriot. Let us turn a moment to a less brilliant yet not less pleasing side of his character; let us look at him as a man, as a friend, as a husband, as a father.

When Washington parted with him at New York, he is said to have shed tears, so warmly had Knox attached himself to one who could read men's hearts and penetrate their souls as a ray of light penetrates the gloom of a chamber. They had long been together, and Washington had learned to appreciate and to love him. This speaks volumes for the head and heart of Knox, as Washington was not easily won.

The war having been brought to a happy termination, a most serious duty yet remained to be performed; a duty of no common magnitude, and one that had not been

generally anticipated. Men who had stood the brunt of battle, had risked their lives under every hardship, to secure the general liberty, were now to be disbanded. They were reckless and discontented. For their great services they had demands against our government, whose treasury was empty and whose resources were exhausted. All that could be given in payment of hard-earned wages was the faith of a government then hardly established. Such reward for toils endured gave rise to murmurs and complainings which threatened to breed domestic turmoil and contention, and even to overthrow the freedom they had struggled so hard to gain. Knox saw and felt the impending danger. He applied himself by conciliatory arguments and by persuasive reasonings, to appease the gathering storm, and by his popularity and influence, his resolution and his intrepid perseverance, succeeded in soothing the irritated soldiery, and in bringing them back to a just sense of their duties as citizens and men. Such services were of inestimable value in such an hour.

While sitting at the table of his commander-in-chief, surrounded by his gallant brethren-in-arms, with whom he had fought side by side, and from whom he now felt he was soon to part, perhaps never to meet again, his generous heart was unwilling to take leave of those whom he had learned to love without the assurance of some tie that should unite them when other duties called each to his abode. It was at this moment his gentle and affectionate disposition gave birth to the idea of a society now known and long honoured as *The Cincinnati*. It owes its existence to Knox, who was elected the first vice-president, an office he held until his death.

At the close of 1783, having performed all the duties of his station, he retired to his home in Maine, where he had added to his estate, inherited from his wife's ancestor, by extensive purchases. He was not allowed the luxury of repose for any length of time, for in 1784 he was ap-

pointed by Congress, under the old confederation, secretary of war, and at once confirmed by Washington.

When Washington was elected President, Knox, having had five years' experience in the duties of that department, and being personally known and esteemed for his capacity and integrity, was re-appointed, and he continued to hold the office until 1795, when Washington most reluctantly accepted his resignation. In this new sphere of action, we find him labouring with undiminished zeal for the welfare of his country. The complaints against the free-booters of the Mediterranean, and the threatened war with France, induced him to urge upon Congress the necessity of a navy, that subject then being under the direction of the War Department. His propositions were opposed, but his perseverance and sound arguments finally prevailed, and birth was given to our marine, which received the fostering care of its parent. The fatigues of service had not failed to awaken a desire for rest, and in 1795, he retired to his home at Thomaston, in Maine, where he had erected a princely mansion.

He was a large man, of full habit, and above the middle stature. In walking, his feet were nearly parallel, owing to the outward inclination of his lower limbs. He wore a queue, with his hair short in front, brushed up, and powdered. He had a low forehead, a large face, and small gray but brilliant eyes. When walking, he carried a large cane, but usually under his arm; if he used it at all, it was when excited in conversation, when he would sometimes flourish it to aid his eloquence. He customarily wore black. His left hand having been mutilated at Monmouth, he wore around it a black silk handkerchief, which he would unwind and rewind when talking, but without exposing his hand. His voice was strong, and bore the characteristic of having been accustomed to command. His mind was powerful, rapid and decisive; he was capable of continued application and of effective thought. He

was of a highly social disposition, and enjoyed what few at present seem to enjoy, a hearty laugh. His fancy was active, and his mode of expressing himself no less brilliant than felicitous. He said that through life he had risen with the dawn, and had been always a cheerful man.

With his social disposition and generous heart, he was one of the most hospitable of men. At his noble residence he often gathered around him a numerous circle of friends, among whom he was ever the most agreeable companion. As to the extent of his hospitality, it was not an unusual thing for him to make up in summer one hundred beds daily in his house, and to kill an ox and twenty sheep every Monday morning. He kept twenty saddle-horses and several pairs of carriage-horses, for the use of his guests and himself. This expensive style of living was enough to exhaust a larger fortune than he possessed. He had too confidently calculated upon large sales of his lands, and being therein disappointed, his costly hospitality and exuberant generosity threw him into pecuniary embarrassments towards the close of his life.

When President Adams concluded to form an army in 1798, Washington accepted the chief command, and named Alexander Hamilton first in rank under him; Charles Cotesworth Pinckney second, and Knox third. This hurt Knox very much, for he was Hamilton's senior, and it made him hesitate awhile as to accepting the office. But he soon yielded a soldier's sensibility to manly feeling and the nature of the call, and finally accepted the proffered post.

He died very suddenly at his residence in Thomaston, in the year 1806, aged fifty-six years. The immediate cause of his death was a rapid and fatal mortification, produced from swallowing a chicken-bone, at breakfast. The abilities and integrity of General Knox have been amply vindicated by recent historians, and there are few names in our history that now shine with a purer lustre.

MAJOR-GENERAL BENEDICT ARNOLD.

"ARNOLD's conduct," wrote Washington, on the 18th of October, 1780, "is so villanously perfidious, that there are no terms that can describe the baseness of his heart. The confidence and folly which have marked the subsequent career of this man are of a piece with his villany, and all three are perfect in their kind."* Such is Washington's recorded judgment on Benedict Arnold. Such is the deliberate opinion of one whose instincts of right and wrong rarely misled him, who was slow to anger and who measured every word of praise or censure that he uttered. Yet strange to say, now that nearly seventy years have rolled by, an effort is making partially to reverse this judgment, and if not to praise, to excuse or account for Arnold's last and worst overt act of crime, by attributing it to some outward and irresistible pressure, or by the recapitulation of his earlier deeds of audacious bravery. Brave, desperately brave, he certainly was. He showed it in the wilderness march of 1775, in the attack on Quebec, and at the heights of Saratoga, but more than all, did he show it on occasions which his whimsical apologists are glad to pass by unnoticed, when, with a halter round his neck, he led an invading army into the heart of Virginia; when he gazed from the belfry of the New London church on a burning village, and sanctioned the murder of Colonel Ledyard, at the storming of Fort Griswold. But of all the qualities which form the character of heroic men, that is least worthy of admiration which, however essential, is common to the beast of prey and the ruffian whose

* Letter to President Reed, 18th October, 1780. VII. Washington's Works, p. 264.

sword is at the command of those who best can pay for it. Desperate, reckless courage, the fruit of physical organization, is the solitary virtue of Arnold's character—the scanty material out of which his apologists weave all their praises. His avarice, for he was rapacious to the last degree, his voluptuousness, which knew no restraint, his meanness, for, when it suited selfish purposes, he was an adept in all the poor arts of defamation, his insensibility, for he could stand by and without apparent compunction see a relatively guiltless confederate die on the scaffold, his mercenary shamelessness, for he could receive the wages of treason thus stained with blood, his last and worst act, the sale of his country's—his confiding country's trust for gold—all are to be forgotten, and we find writers of clever parts and popular talent, labouring to undo the world's well-settled judgment, and to prove that Arnold was not so bad as he is thought to be. In no such spirit of perverse apology do we write. A time-sanctioned judgment is oftener right than wrong, and on such in this instance do we rely. Washington knew Arnold well, and when the first flush of disappointment and resentment had passed away, wrote the words which are inscribed at the head of this chapter, and which will live and be remembered when all attempts at palliation are forgotten. It is best it should be so. The public necessities which call for patriotic sacrifices and exertions are not exhausted. The virtues of the Revolution and its soldiers may be needed again. The errors—the crimes, happily very few, of the men of those days of trial may find imitators, and who shall say that Arnold's example of infamy may not hereafter be profitable to deter. If, in the relations of private life, any thing had appeared to justify a charitable or kind construction of his conduct, the effort to palliate conceded public offences, and to reconcile them with some theory of accidental lapse from virtue or imaginary exigency, might be pardoned, but the uniformity, the con-

sistency of public and private conduct is here complete, and the result is no other than that at which the latest and most judiciously tolerant writer on the subject has arrived, when, as it were, throwing aside the dismal record in indignant disgust, he says: "I am inclined to believe that Arnold was a finished scoundrel from early manhood to his grave. Nor do I believe he had any real and true-hearted attachment to the whig cause. He fought as a mere adventurer, and took sides from a calculation of personal gain and chances of plunder and advancement."*

The place of Arnold's birth was Norwich, in the colony of Connecticut—its date the 3d of January, 1740. Of his boyhood, his best and kindest biographer thus speaks:

"To an innate love of mischief, young Arnold added an obduracy of conscience, a cruelty of disposition, an irritability of temper, and a reckless indifference to the good or ill opinion of others, that left but a slender foundation upon which to erect a system of correct principle or habits. Anecdotes have been preserved of all these traits. One of his earliest amusements was the robbery of birds' nests, and it was his custom to maim and mangle young birds in sight of old ones, that he might be diverted with their cries. Near the druggist's shop was a school-house, and he would place in the path broken pieces of glass, taken from the crates, by which the children would cut their feet in coming from school. The cracked and imperfect phials which came in the crates were perquisites of the apprentices. Hopkins, a fellow-apprentice and an amiable youth, was in the habit of placing his share on the outside of the shop near the door, and permitting the small boys to take them away, who were pleased with this token of his good will. Arnold followed the same practice, but when he had decoyed the boys and they were busy picking up the broken phials, he would rush out of the shop

* Sabine's American Loyalists, p. 131.

with a horsewhip in his hand, call them thieves, and beat them without pity. These and similar acts afforded him pleasure. He was likewise fond of rash feats of daring, always foremost in danger, and as fearless as he was wickedly mischievous. Sometimes he took corn to a grist-mill in the neighbourhood, and while waiting for the meal, he would amuse himself and astonish his playmates, by clinging to the arms of a large water-wheel, and passing with it beneath and above the water."*

Arnold's first manly years were equally characteristic. They were full of that sort of restless adventure which precluded the steady pursuit of any calling, and especially disqualified him for that honest and useful one which he at first adopted. He was better suited for the semi-contraband trade in the West Indies, than for compounding drugs behind an apothecary's counter at New Haven. Arnold, for a time, was part skipper, commanding a little schooner out of New London, and part horsedealer, carrying his live-stock to the French and Spanish islands; occasionally relieving the monotony of trade by a duel with a Frenchman at one place, and a brawl with a sailor at another. It seems, indeed, that our Revolution, at its outset, required all sorts of agencies, all sorts of men, to set the ball in motion; not only the sedate and practical wisdom of Washington, the shrewd sagacity of Franklin, the high cultivation of men of scholarship, like Adams and Otis, the self-taught and well-poised intelligence of Greene, (the most brilliant and meritorious of young America's soldiers,) but it needed too the boasting, irregular, adventurous energy of Arnold; and accordingly, the moment that the musket-shots at Concord echoed through New England, he was in the field, mustering his little Norwich company, and ready to march any where that fighting was to be found. On the 2d May, 1775,

* Sparks's Life of Arnold, p. 5.

little more than a fortnight after the battle of Lexington, and as long before that of Bunker Hill, Arnold was a provincial colonel, and on his march to Ticonderoga. In about a week, having overtaken Ethan Allen's party of Green Mountain boys, who threatened to gather the honours of the first assault, he was at the fort; and, on the 10th May, the garrison was surprised and taken, "in the name of the Great Jehovah and the continental Congress."

What strange and picturesque associations hover around this old Ticonderoga Fort! It has seen more bloody fighting, more chequered military results, more of the romance of warfare, than any spot in North America. It is, or rather—for in this matter-of-fact atmosphere of ours the venerable and picturesque has no chance—it ought to be a classic spot. The scene of French and Indian warfare, of the prowess of Amherst and of Howe, of Dieskau and Montcalm, it became at the beginning and continued to the end of the revolutionary war a fighting-ground where blood was spilled like water, which each combatant seemed able to conquer, but neither to retain. The conquest of it by Ethan Allen and Arnold, in 1775, was a striking event in those stirring times. Extreme and painful was the astonishment with which the British military authorities in Canada learned of this close defiance—for it is probable that Sir Guy Carleton, at his headquarters at Quebec, heard of the fall of Ticonderoga before he knew of the skirmish at Lexington. He was destined to have a more startling surprise when, a few months later, one of the conquerors of Ticonderoga penetrated the Kennebec wilderness, and showed himself, at the head of a band of daring adventurers, before the castle of St. Louis. It was, however, to Great Britain, her ministers and generals, the day of wonders.

No sooner had the Fort surrendered, than Arnold, with characteristic energy, and with that restlessness of authority which marked his whole life, organized a sort of separate

command, and equipped a naval armament on Lake Champlain.' In this, he rendered efficient service, scouring the lake from one end to the other; and, by the rapidity of movement—for he seemed every where at once—holding in check any advancing parties of the enemy, and terrifying into inaction the scattered loyalist inhabitants. But here, as ever, Arnold's evil genius disturbed a career of usefulness and triumph. Altercations arose, questions of pecuniary accountability were agitated; jealousies of precedence alienated him from his companions in arms, especially from Allen, whose puritan peculiarities were, it may be conceded, far from consonant with Arnold's audacious freedom of thought, and language, and action, and the result, as might have been foreseen, was that, from his first as from his last command, from Ticonderoga in 1775, as from Philadelphia in 1779, Arnold retired an embittered and vindictive man. He repaired at once to Washington's camp, at Cambridge, and there solicited active service. And for a service which the commander-in-chief then had in view, he was exactly the man.

The reader is aware that a wilderness march and an attack from an unexpected quarter, and at an unusual season on the Canadian posts, was then contemplated and was soon matured. Its story of romance is well-known, and need not here be repeated. It is a tale of heroic adventure which is best told when simply told; and there are contemporary records which narrate the story with clear and eloquent fidelity. No words of praise are too strong for this exploit. Dangers were surmounted and privations endured from which the peaceful mind recoils; and it was done with cheerfulness and alacrity, without murmur or complaint. But one man retreated; and his name has been ever since disgraced. Arnold, and Christopher Greene, and Morgan, and Meigs, and Bigelow were always in advance; and such leaders,

so full of dashing enterprise, the men were proud to follow. If the news of an invasion from the clouds had reached the British commanders, they could not have been more amazed than they were when the deserter Indian Æneas brought them word that a Rebel army—for so, no doubt, the savage dignified Arnold's little band—was coming down the cascades of the Chaudière in rafts and batteaux, having reached it through a trackless wilderness which no feet had trod but those of the Indian hunter and his victims, the elk and the moose.* In a day or two after the news was first whispered, the American flag was seen on Point Levi; and before this surprise was well over, the Rebel forces were drawn up in such array as their poor numbers justified, on the Plains of Abraham. Wolfe's bright career and glorious victory were then fresh in memory; and it seems to have been Arnold's pride—and it was a worthy one—to tread in his footsteps. He crossed, as Wolfe did, from Point Levi to the cove, led his untutored soldiers up the same wild path, and sought a battle on the spot where, seventeen years before, Wolfe had died in the arms of victory. Happy would it have been for him if he had thus died, and, like Montgomery, been mourned as the nation's first child.

No sooner did Sir Guy Carleton, then at Montreal watching the danger from above, hear of the unexpected approach of the Americans to Quebec, than he hastened to its relief. Leaving his flotilla above the batteries which the provincials had hastily constructed at Sorel, he embarked in the night in a small armed vessel, and at immi-

* "There are," says an English letter writer from Quebec, "about five hundred provincials arrived at Point Levi, by the way of the Chaudière, across the woods. Surely, a miracle must have been wrought in their favour. It is an undertaking above the common race of men, in this debauched age. They have travelled through woods and bogs, and over precipices, for the space of one hundred and twenty miles, attended with every inconvenience and difficulty, to be surmounted only by men of indefatigable zeal and industry." Almon, vol. ii. p. 130.

nent risk of capture, passed down the river. There was rich and noble freight, it may be noted, in this boat. Not only did it carry the governor-general and some members of his family, but with them was Lord Chatham's young son, an officer in the 47th British regiment, and attached to General Carleton's staff. To the American reader the career of this young man has peculiar interest. Though it opened brightly to him, with all the advantages of patronage and place, it was abruptly terminated by his father's resolute determination, for which, as all else he did, America ought to reverence his memory, boldly announcing, that no son of his should bear arms in the cause of tyranny, or against his oppressed fellow-subjects. In February, 1776, Lady Chatham wrote in her husband's name to Sir Guy Carleton, peremptorily withdrawing his son from a service which though that of his sovereign, he considered unworthy of his countenance.*

On the day that Carleton reached Quebec, Arnold had retired to Point aux Trembles, and there awaited General Montgomery's arrival from above. On the 1st of December Montgomery took command. It was high time; for Arnold had on more occasions than one displayed his utter incapacity for the direction of affairs, or what may be called generalship. The moment that mere adventure and its necessities ceased, Arnold lost the confidence and regard of the officers and men. A gallant witness of one of his outbursts of vain folly has thus described it: "Arnold had the boldness, you might say the audacity, or still more correctly, the folly, to draw us up in a line, in front and opposite to the wall of the city. The parapet was lined by hundreds of gaping citizens and soldiers, whom our guns could not harm, because of the distance. They gave us a huzza! We returned it, and remained a considerable time huzzaing, and spending our

* Chatham Correspondence, vol. iv. p. 420.

powder against the walls, for we harmed no one. Some of our men to the right, under the cover of something like ancient ditches and hillocks, crept forward within two hundred yards of the works, but their firing was disregarded by the enemy as farcical. Febiger, who was a real and well instructed soldier, and engineer, did advance singly within a hundred paces, and pored with the eye of an adept. During all this, as my station in the line happened to be on a mound, a few feet higher than the common level of the plain, it was perceptible through the embrasures that there was a vast bustle within. In some minutes a thirty-six pounder was let loose upon us; but so ill was the gun pointed, that the ball fell short, or passed high over our heads. Another, and another succeeded—to these salutes, we gave them all we could, another and another huzza. It must be confessed, that this ridiculous affair gave me a contemptible opinion of Arnold. This notion was by no means singular. Morgan, Febiger, and other officers, who had seen service, did not hesitate to speak of it in that point of view."*

The same writer has thus described the exhilaration produced by Montgomery's arrival: "On the first of December, General Montgomery, who was anxiously expected, arrived. Arnold's corps was paraded in front of the chapel. It was lowering and cold, but the appearance of the general here, gave us warmth and animation. He was well limbed, tall, and handsome, though his face was much pock-marked. His air and manner designated the real soldier. He made us a short, but energetic and elegant speech, the burden of which, was an applause of our spirit in passing the wilderness; a hope, our perseverance in that spirit would continue; and a promise of warm clothing; the latter was a most comfortable assurance. A few huzzas from our freezing bodies were returned to this

* Henry's Narrative.

address of the gallant hero. Now new life was infused into the whole of the corps."

The pleasure-seeking traveller, who, at this day, under the bright effulgence of a summer sun, looks from the ramparts of the great citadel of Quebec on the beautiful landscape before him, can scarcely realize the contrast of the winter horrors of the same scene, or the perils of the wild adventure which the new year's night of 1776 there witnessed. The attempt to storm Quebec by the Americans has no parallel in the history of desperate warfare. Wolfe's time of adventure ceased when he scaled the cliff and dispersed the serjeant's guard on the heights. After that it was plain and gallant fighting, on a magnificent field of battle, under a bright autumnal, or rather summer sun, and with no warfare of elements to encounter. He had with him regular troops—the picked men of the British army, veterans of Prince Ferdinand and Cumberland. He had a fleet at hand to rescue him, and a government (no slight incentive) at home to reward him living, and to honour and mourn over him dead. The American leader's signal for attack was the snow storm of Canadian midwinter. There was three feet of hard frozen snow upon the ground, piercing the bloody feet of the rebel soldiers, and the moment fixed for advance against the stone redoubts of the city, was when the moon should be overcast, and a drifting snow begin. The men from whom this terrible duty was exacted, were youths from the plough, untutored in the art of war, undisciplined by military experience; dressed in hunting-shirts, unprovided against the climate, and with no arms but such as the chase supplied. They and their leaders were fighting in a cause which to them looked as gloomily as did that winter night. Victory would bring no immediate or substantial honours or reward, neither rank of service, nor pension, nor title; and death's only recompense would be an accidental grave due to the kindness of a generous enemy,

(for such throughout was Carleton) and the slow remembrance of those for whom life was to be sacrificed.* There was not for them either "Peerage or Westminster Abbey." The American reader has a right to be proud of the contrast, and this too without a thought or word of vulgar disparagement of England's gallant men. Montgomery had been one of Wolfe's officers, in 1759, and we may imagine that in the wild darkness of the winter assault, his mind's eye may have been cheered by a bright vision of glory of the past, and that the thought of Wolfe's glory led onward Wolfe's young captain in a nobler and better cause.

Montgomery, at the head of about seven hundred men, advanced along the river bank, whilst Arnold at the same moment attempted and carried the suburb of St. Roque. Montgomery's march was by a narrow defile, with a sharp descent to the water's edge on one side, and the scarped rock of the fortress on the other. They soon reached a point called *Pres de Ville*. A battery of three pounders charged with grape had been placed here, in charge of a small party of Canadian militia and seamen. At daybreak one of these men discovered in the dusk of the morning, a body of troops in full advance. The alarm was instantly given, but the assailants were allowed unmolested to approach within a short distance. The Americans halted for a moment, and an officer came forward to reconnoitre, very near the battery. After listening for a moment, all being still and apparently unguarded, the scout returned with his report, and the column with Montgomery and his aids at its head, dashed forward at double quick time to the attack. At this moment the British artillerymen fired their pieces in rapid succession. The assaulting troops recoiled in confusion, nothing was heard but the groans of the wounded and dying, and, nothing certain being known within the lines, the pass continued to be swept by the

* It was nearly half a century after Montgomery's death when permanent honour was done to his memory.

cannon and musketry, for the space of ten minutes. The next morning thirteen bodies were found in the snow. On the retreat of the Americans, a young officer of Canadian volunteers visited the scene of carnage; and there he found, lying frozen on the ground, his arm extended towards Quebec, one whom he had known at college in the mother country and pointed him out as the American general. The young English soldier was afterwards one of the most eminent jurists of Great Britain.*

Arnold's attack on the other side of the town was so far successful that his party penetrated near to the Palace Gate; but there, being severely wounded in the leg, he was obliged to retire to the rear, and his troops, after a severe loss in killed and prisoners, and a desperate attempt by Morgan, who, on Arnold's wound, was in command, to push farther on, were obliged to retreat. Thus ended in disaster the memorable attack on Quebec. The rest of the winter's tale was that of strict and uninteresting blockade—neither besiegers nor besieged being willing or able to attempt any offensive movement. Generals Wooster and Sullivan successively assumed the American command, Arnold being in great measure disabled by his wound. The spring of 1776 witnessed a series of discomfitures on the part of the Americans; and later in the season the total evacuation of the Canadian provinces, and the advance across the lines, by the way of St. Johns and Isle aux Noix, of a well-apppointed British army, under General Burgoyne. Throughout the campaign thus closing, the candid and careful inquirer cannot fail being struck not merely with Arnold's spirit and enterprise, but with the fact that no single moment of tranquil administration passed without some dark imputation on his discretion or his integrity. His violence was uncontrollable. He challenged the members of a court-martial to fight him. He

* Sir William Grant. See Life of Lord Sidmouth, vol. i. p. 316.

seized goods by force, and insolently refused to account for them. He seemed here, as every where, to have an invincible propensity to take other people's property; and here, as afterwards in Philadelphia, he seemed strangely insensible in his rapacity to the distinction between friend and foe. Here, as Mr. Sparks justly says, was the first link of the chain which finally dragged him down to ruin.

The admirers of Arnold have a right to refer with pleasure to that bright period of his life which dates from the evacuation of Canada in 1776, to the battle of Behmus's Heights in October, 1777. It was crowded with exploits of romantic courage—some of them so desperately daring as to justify a doubt whether, in the excitement of the battle-field, Arnold was a sane man. This was eminently the case in his final exploit at Saratoga. But no man could have behaved with more gallantry than he did on these occasions. The reader who can study the narrative of his conduct in the flotilla command of 1776, and his fierce conflict with the British fleet, without a thrill of pride and a pang at the thought that such a man could become a mercenary traitor, need not be envied. The closing scene of this naval campaign is worthy of especial commemoration. Paul Jones or Decatur never fought a more desperate fight than this. On a small scale, and not the less fraught with danger on that account, it may be compared with any affair of modern warfare. Its details are known to every reader, and justify a discriminating biographer's remark, "that there are few instances on record of more deliberate courage and gallantry than were displayed by him, from the beginning to the end of this action."* Here it it was, that another of those strange juxtapositions occurred, which the personal history of men of widely different aims and fate sometimes exhibits. The late Lord Exmouth,† the conqueror of Algiers, then Lieute-

* Sparks's Biography, 79. † Life of Exmouth.

nant Pellew of the Royal navy, was the person who boarded Arnold's vessel after he had abandoned it, and accidentally missed making him prisoner. Happy, may it not again be said, would it have been for Arnold, had he then, with his fame unsullied, fallen into the hands of an honourable foe!

Again, at Danbury, where, on his return from the North he happened to be, did he appear to great advantage in resisting the attack of Tryon and his marauders, and bearing from the field the body of the gallant Wooster. It was a day full of unadulterated renown for Arnold, a day of battle, of close hand to hand conflict, without an interval of safety or repose in which latent and invincible evil instincts could be developed. Such, indeed, was the fame here earned, and which no one begrudged, that Congress, who had hesitated so long and perhaps so wisely—for Congress knew him well—on his claims of rank, and were scrutinizing closely his perplexed and irregular accounts, hesitated no longer; but giving him his coveted rank, and special distinctions beside, sent him with a major-general's commission, to join the northern army of Generals Schuyler and St. Clair.

It is the fashion of the times to condemn the course which, on this and another occasion, presently to be alluded to, Congress pursued with regard to Arnold. It certainly irritated Washington, who, being himself in the field in active service and being annoyed with much that was imbecile, had a very soldierly admiration of Arnold's dashing courage. Adventurous enterprise had especial charms for Washington, who, by temperament, was far from a cautious soldier; and it fretted him to see a deliberative body doling out its reluctant praises for what, to him, seemed so admirable. But looking to the result, to the conclusive development of Arnold's true character, at the end, his unquestioned incapacity even at the beginning, to do more than fight, his utter want, not only of

administrative talent, but of integrity, are we not bound to think that there was in some members of Congress a far-reaching sagacity which saw through the glittering renown which mere military prowess gives, and prevented at least the precipitate gift of honours and rewards; which saw, from the beginning, that Arnold was a brave bad man—a man not to be trusted. Congress, or its majority, to our mind, appears to greater advantage in its cautious demeanour to Arnold, in 1777, in promoting Lincoln, and St. Clair, and Stirling, all true-hearted men, as brave though not so reckless as Arnold, and far more honest, than it did when, two years later, it espoused his cause, and sustained a secret traitor in an unworthy squabble with state authorities. Besides, in this false sympathy with Arnold's wrongs, let it be remembered that when, at last, he became a traitor, he had all he coveted—rank, honour, sinecure; and yet was base enough to sacrifice them all, according to the theory of his apologists, to secret vengeance for an ancient wrong. Who then should say that Congress ever did him injustice by a wise and provident caution?

Arnold reached the northern army before General Gates took command, and was employed by Schuyler, who seems to have had a precise estimate of his merits, in several distant enterprises on the Hudson and Mohawk. No sooner did the new commander-in-chief arrive, than difficulty arose, and jealousy was aroused that never after was quieted. General Gates was a man of peculiar habits of mind and conduct, and with little or none of that practical wisdom which enabled Washington to move on harmoniously with men of all sorts of tempers and dispositions. An adult European soldier, he came to this country with professional notions and prejudices which could not be overcome, and he was the last man in the world to tolerate Arnold's swaggering brutality of manner or insolence of deportment. Perhaps less creditable in-

fluences and antipathies operated, and he was jealous of the rising fame of his dashing subordinate. It is very manifest that the misunderstanding was productive of injury to the public cause, and might have led to disastrous results but for the infatuation of the British commanders, which led them, step by step, in a course of disaster, till rescue and escape became impracticable. Competent military judges have thought that had Arnold not been interfered with, at the first skirmish near Behmus's Heights, there would have been a defeat, instead of an ultimate capitulation of the English army. In the second battle, on the 7th of October, it may safely be said there is nothing more painfully grotesque in our history than the spectacle of a second in command riding, contrary to orders, like a madman to the field of battle, brandishing his sword close to the enemy's guns, literally at the cannon's mouth, striking his own fellow-officers, and at last falling, as was thought, fatally wounded on a field of victory which his very audacity had contributed to gain. "He exposed himself," says Wilkinson—no very favourable witness by-the-by—"with great folly and temerity at the time we were engaged front to front with the Germans; and, whilst he was flourishing his sword and encouraging the troops, he, in a state of furious distraction, struck an officer on the head, and wounded him; the first impulse of the officer was to shoot him, for which purpose he raised his fusee; but, recollecting himself, he was about to remonstrate, when Arnold darted off to another part of the field. Soon after this incident, finding himself on our right, he dashed to the left through the fire of the two lines, and escaped unhurt; he then turned the right of the enemy, and, collecting fifteen or twenty riflemen, threw himself with this party into the rear of the enemy just as they gave way, when his leg was broke and his horse killed under him."

The wound thus madly gained made Arnold a cripple

for life, and with this sharp scene, Burgoyne's army surrendering immediately after, he closed his active life as an American soldier. At this moment, with all his faults, such is the bright hue which surrounds every act of much personal daring, no man stood higher in popular favour.

We approach now the last chapter of Arnold's strange career, dating it from the time he assumed the command at Philadelphia. Proud of his honourable wound, he reached the camp at Valley Forge at the moment when the news of the French alliance was received, and the enemy were preparing to evacuate the city. On the 17th of June, 1778, the British crossed the Delaware, and the same day the exiled Americans returned to their homes. Arnold was put in command by Washington, and at once entered on his delicate and responsible duties. Never was a man less suited to his trust. Washington's letter of instructions, dated the 19th of June, seems to limit his duties to mere matters of necessary police, in the transition state in which the city necessarily was on the departure of the enemy, and before the restoration of the regular authorities. But Arnold was not to be thus controlled. The invincible instinct of his nature must have indulgence, and here in a disturbed community, with business relations unsettled, was a fitting occasion. Within three days after he took command, he entered into a secret mercantile partnership, and regularly executed a contract in the following words:

"Whereas, by purchasing goods and necessaries for the use of the public, sundry articles not wanted for that purpose may be obtained: It is agreed by the subscribers that all such goods and merchandise which are or may be bought by the clothier-general or persons appointed by him, shall be sold for the joint equal benefit of the subscribers, and be purchased at their risk. Witness our hands this 22d day of June, 1778.

B. Arnold, Etc.

284

It was signed by two other individuals, to whom no especial blame attaches except so far as they connived at the glaring misconduct on the part of the commanding general. For a military man to promote his personal and pecuniary advantage at the expense of a conquered enemy is bad enough, but what shadow of excuse can there be for such conduct to friends and fellow-countrymen, who were just recovering from the ravages and spoliations of a foreign foe! This secret bargain was but the first of a long series of official delinquencies, which were at last detected and exposed by the local authorities. Those who find in what they call the persecution by the Pennsylvania executive, a pretext or apology for Arnold's treason, would do well to look farther back and find it in that course of secret and necessarily disastrous trading adventure, which had its origin in a contract for a secret purchase of public stores and clothing.

But other influences were at work to precipitate his downfall. There was at this period a strange and pestilent social atmosphere in the American metropolis. Philadelphia had been the seat of proprietary influence, in whose sunshine had grown up a sort of aristocracy, in its little sphere, of the most exclusive kind. It was not entirely disaffected. So far from it that many leading whigs, military and civil officers, shared its sympathies, and, what is more to be deplored, its intense antipathies. A party question had also arisen in Pennsylvania which attracted and promoted the most bitter animosities. The constitution of 1776, framed in the midst of the first excitement of the war, was liable to many speculative objections, and public feeling, especially in Philadelphia, was much divided on the subject. The heat was revived in full animation on the return of the Americans, and all the disaffected without exception, those who owed their lives and property to the forbearance of the constitutional authorities, threw themselves into the ranks of the adverse party. A

disaffected aristocracy, and an exasperated party opposition, formed a most dangerous and troublesome combination. The local government was actually defied. The authorities were told they did not dare to execute the laws; and when at last two notorious abettors of treason were brought to punishment, and others of a still higher rank in society were threatened, there was a perfect howl of exasperation, a chorus in which party prejudice and treacherous sympathies mingled their accents strangely. To join the enemy, to hold a British commission, to waylay the American leaders, to feed and aid and comfort an invading enemy, to co-operate in the burning of houses and destruction of property, for every house near the British lines was ruthlessly devastated—all these were venial offences for which any penalty was too severe, and those who according to the forms of law contributed to assert the public rights, whether as judges, or jurymen, or counsel, were branded as butchers and murderers. Carlisle and Roberts are still, we believe, saints and martyrs of the canon of treason.

During the whole of this period of excitement, Arnold's command continued, and, to the delight of all whose antipathies have been thus described, he threw himself into the ranks of the local opposition. It was a perfect God-send to the leaders of faction and fomentors of disaffection, to have the continental commandant on their side, and mingled with the complaints of local oppression, was fervent and ecstatic praise of his gallantry and his sacrifices. Fashion, the most vulgar and intolerant of tyrants, shut its sanctioning eyes to Arnold's lowly birth and the rudeness of his early calling, and the heroines of the Meschianza smiled with gracious condescension on the New London horsedealer. All they asked in return for this favour, was that he should unite with them and theirs in denunciation of the local authorities, and in sarcasms on the sturdy integrity of the constitutional whigs. Arnold had motives

enough for this sort of affiliation. Not only was his vanity flattered, but his heart—if heart he had—was touched by the kind consideration with which he was treated. He soon courted and married one of the brightest of the belles of the Meschianza—on whom beauty and toryism were equally distinguished—nor was this all. Arnold's pecuniary necessities, the fruit of frustrated schemes and speculations, led him naturally to those who had the means, and might, if he courted them, have the inclination to relieve him. The wealth of Philadelphia was altogether on the tory side. The few acts of confiscation into which the new government had been goaded, left abundant and well invested wealth in the hands of the disaffected. Arnold played his game accordingly, and in less than two months, cheered onward by his new confederates, tempted by his own instincts of wrong, he was involved in a fierce conflict with the local authorities—busy at his work of insolent defiance, and grateful for the applause his abettors bestowed, and the wages which, in all probability, he was mean enough to accept. For a time and till the government was permanently and securely reorganized by the installation of a new executive, Arnold seemed to have the best of the squabble.

But in November, 1778, General Reed being unanimously elected President of the state, the game of faction was suddenly blocked. Reed brought to his new duty not only talent of a high order, but military experience gained by the side of Washington, thorough knowledge and appreciation of the precise line which separates the different functions of public service, and a resolute determination of purpose, that could be neither overcome nor circumvented. He was full of resources, and had an aptitude to meet exigencies which has rarely been equalled. He had besides the respect and confidence of all parties, for though opposed in theory to the new constitution, he thought change and amendment should be postponed till the more

urgent necessities of the war were over. Of course in thus claiming for General Reed on his accession th confidence of all, the notoriously disaffected are excepted. They and their connexions hated him with inveterate hate. Against the power and ability of such an executive, Arnold and his abettors struggled in vain. Neither their obloquy nor their blandishments availed to turn aside the course of justice thus administered. In vain did Arnold send messages of insult and defiance to the council; in vain did he affect to despise, as too minute for notice, the charges preferred against him—merely "the giving a pass to a trading enemy, and using public wagons for private uses;" in vain did he invoke the authority of Congress, a portion of whose members as if to expiate past neglect espoused his cause; in vain did he cite the high authority of George Clinton and Jay, and, by misquoting his opinions, bring the name of Washington to his support. Mr. Reed and the council persevered in asserting the majesty of the law, forced Congress, though deeply infected by faction, to listen, and to grant an inquiry; and at last convinced a court of Arnold's fellow-soldiers that it was their duty to sentence him to be reprimanded for offences, the nature of which were illustrative of the peddling nature of his evil passions. Arnold's rage knew no bounds, and there is no where to be found a more characteristic memorial of his character, than in the arrogant and defamatory defence, well known to the historical student, which he made before the court-martial. Snatching any weapon of calumny that happened to be at hand, he madly hurled it at his accusers, and seemed to think it was defence enough for him to praise himself and slander others.

Thus passed more than a year in altercation in public, and wild and daring commercial speculations in private. Disappointment and disaster attended both. Disgrace, as we have seen, was the fruit of his political broils; whilst bankruptcy, and necessity that could no longer be evaded

or trifled with, followed close on the footsteps of pecuniary adventure. The spring and summer of 1779 found Arnold a hopelessly ruined man; and then it was that the spirit of evil, always vigilant of its victim's moment of extremity, whispered to his susceptible mind the suggestion of lucrative treason. Not such treason as led Coriolanus, or the Constable of Bourbon, to fight against his country—not such as tempted Warwick or Percy, the treason that finds excuse in wounded pride or insulted honour; Arnold's was none of these, but it was one of the coarsest quality. It was nothing more than mercenary, money-making treason; and if the council of Pennsylvania had been his friends and not his accuser—if they had been willing to wink at his oppression, and submit to his insults, the result would have precisely been the same.

For the sake of human nature, pitiable in its slow yielding to temptation, it may be hoped that Arnold did not submit to these promptings of despair without a struggle. His application for pecuniary relief to the French minister, seems to show this. He was more willing to degrade himself before the representative of a friendly power, than to barter away his country and his own character to an enemy. He preferred begging alms from Luzerne, to trading, with the fearful risks of such a traffic, with Sir Henry Clinton. But when the calm admonition of the French envoy repelled him, no avenue seemed open save that which led him to the enemy. He had, let it be remembered, no domestic security for doing right—no fireside guardianship to protect him from the tempter. Rejecting, as we do utterly, the theory that his wife was the instigator of his crime—all common principles of human action being opposed to it—we still believe that there was nothing in her influence or associations to countervail the persuasions to which he ultimately yielded. She was young, and gay, and frivolous; fond of display and admiration, and used to luxury, she was utterly unfitted for the

duties and privations of a poor man's wife. A loyalist's daughter, she had been taught to mourn over even the poor pageantry of colonial rank and authority, and to recollect with pleasure the pomp of those brief days of enjoyment, when military men of noble station were her admirers. Arnold had no counsellor on his pillow to urge him to the imitation of homely republican virtue, to stimulate him to follow the rugged path of a revolutionary patriot. He fell, and though his wife did not tempt or counsel him to ruin, there is no reason to think she ever uttered a word or made a sign to deter him.

Arnold began his correspondence with Major Andre about the month of April, 1779. Andre had been in Philadelphia whilst the British army had possession of the city, and was well acquainted with the Shippen family, into which Arnold married. Though feigned names were used in this correspondence, "Gustavus" by Arnold, and "John Anderson" by Andre, it is certain that the correspondents knew each other. The intermediate agent to whose care the letters were intrusted, was a refugee clergyman, of the name of Odell, who, no doubt, well knew the American correspondent; whilst throughout Andre was writing in an undisguised hand to Mrs. Arnold, thus enabling Arnold, who would probably see his wife's letters, to know who "John Anderson" was. The real design was covered by the pretext of a mercantile correspondence. So long as Arnold remained on duty at Philadelphia, though he was able, from time to time, to send such scraps of intelligence as he gained in his correspondence with Washington, he was hardly worth the purchasing; and Sir Henry Clinton seemed to hold back, and to show no very great anxiety to burden himself with one pensioner more, or to pay much for the bargain which was offered to him. They had paid dearly enough for Galloway, in 1777. In order, therefore, to appreciate himself in the market, Arnold found it necessary to secure some new and

important trust; and his mind seems early to have been directed to the command at West Point. He directed all his energies and all his powers of intrigue, to this object. His partisans in Congress, and his friends in the army, many of whom persuaded themselves that he was an injured man, seconded his wishes; and at last, though with obvious reluctance, General Washington yielded to their importunity, and directed him to take charge of the garrison at the Point, or, in other words, of the posts on the line of the Hudson river, of which, in military language, West Point was the key. Arnold took charge of the post in the beginning of August. The moment this occurred, Sir Henry Clinton felt that at any cost he was worth securing, and a new and more direct interest was felt in the traitor's correspondence.

Pausing here one moment, let us ask, is not the retrospect painful beyond expression, of the successful simulation which this wicked man was practising, and of the ready credulity with which words of defamation from his lips against the truest patriots of the country once were listened to. "General Washington and the officers of the army," Arnold wrote, "bitterly execrate Mr. Reed and his council for their villanous attempt to injure me."* "*Conscious of my innocence*," said he, in his defence before the court-martial—and one may wonder that the calumny did not palsy his tongue—"conscious of my own innocence, and of the unworthy methods taken to injure me, I can with boldness say to my persecutors in general, and the chief of them in particular, that, in the hour of danger, when the affairs of America wore a gloomy aspect,

* On the discovery of his treason, Washington thus nailed this falsehood to the writer. "I cannot," he wrote, "suffer myself to delay a moment in pronouncing that if Arnold (in his letter to his wife—'I am treated with the greatest politeness by General Washington and the officers of the army, who bitterly execrate Mr. Reed and his council for their villanous attempt to injure me,') meant to comprehend me in the latter part of the expression, that he asserted an absolute falsehood."

when our illustrious general was retreating with a handful of men, I did not propose to my associates to quit him, and sacrifice the cause of my country to my personal safety, by going over to the enemy, and making my peace." And then he would go to his secret chamber, and write to Sir Henry Clinton, and plan the traffic of treason on which his soul was bent. And then, too, there were those who listened with greedy ears to his slanders, applauded his boastful arrogance, and, in the heat of passion and prejudice, were willing to sacrifice the hard-earned fame of patriot men to his malignity. The sympathy which Arnold, in the midst of his treasonable correspondence, was able to command in Philadelphia, is one of the most singular and least creditable incidents of those trying times. There must have been many a burning blush, and many a downcast eye, when the news burst on the community which had fondled and flattered Arnold in his hour of pride and triumph, that their favourite had deserted to the British.

But to return to the now impending catastrophe. Arnold's first care on arriving at West Point, was to put himself in more direct communication with the British commander-in-chief. Mysterious correspondence, with its jargon of "invoices" and "shipments," and "debtor and creditor," would answer no longer. He accordingly took measures to solicit an interview with some accredited agent of the enemy. This was not easy. Washington was on the spot inspecting the posts, and taking deliberate measures with his most experienced counsellors for an offensive movement against New York, in conjunction with Count Rochambeau. Under a calm and imperturbable exterior, as Arnold well knew, there was an acute vigilance, and a power of penetration before which his guilty spirit quailed. Yet even here, with this eye upon him, and with that consciousness of guilt which makes the brave bad man tremble and grow pale, Arnold's nerve sustained him. Once only,

as we read, did he show agitation. In crossing one of the ferries with Washington and his staff, the Vulture sloop of war was seen at a distance, having on board, as Arnold well knew, Colonel Robinson, sent by Sir Henry Clinton to meet him. Washington watched the vessel with his glass, whilst Lafayette jocularly remarked, that Arnold ought to find out what had become of the expected naval reinforcement from France, as he had convenient modes of intercourse with the enemy. For a moment Arnold lost his presence of mind, and made a reply, the intemperance of which might have roused suspicions of any other man. But Washington entertained none, and the matter dropped. The next day (19th September) Washington continued his journey to Hartford, and Arnold was left to his unimpeded work of villany. His first step was to advise Sir Henry Clinton that he would be in attendance under due precautions, the next day, near Dobbs's Ferry, ready to meet his messenger. The following hurried letter to a forage agent in the neighbourhood, has never before been published, and bears date the day that Arnold and Washington parted. The autograph indicates hurry and agitation:

To Mr. Jefferson, Fredericksburg, N. Y.

Headquarters, Rob. House, September 19th, 1780.

Sir,—You will please to pick out of the horses you have now in your custody or which you may hereafter receive, a pair of the best wagon horses, as also two of the *very best saddle horses* you can find, for my use. You'll send them to me as soon as possible.

I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

B. Arnold, *M. General.**

On receiving Arnold's message, Sir Henry Clinton at once despatched Andre on his fatal and fruitless errand.

* The original of this letter is in possession of Edward D. Ingraham, Esq., of Philadelphia.

He arrived with all expedition on board the Vulture, and thence, by a letter or some pretext of business, and under the well-known name of "John Anderson," advised Arnold of his presence. The Vulture then lay in the narrow channel of the Hudson, close to Dobbs's Ferry, and near Tellon's Point; but hour after hour passed without any intelligence from Arnold, and Andre began to despair of success in his enterprise. Could the American, after all, be trifling with them? was it a cunning device to entrap a portion of the British army into some ambuscade in the Highland passes? had all the scheming, and secret management and correspondence, been for nothing? All these were doubts and questions arising in the minds of Andre and his fellow-counsellors that night in the cabin of the Vulture. Suddenly the sound of approaching oars were heard, the rude hail of the sailor on the forecastle watch, and, in a few moments, Joshua H. Smith, Arnold's mysterious confidant, whose precise agency in this scheme of wickedness has never yet been ascertained, came on board, and presented to Colonel Robinson and the naval commandant his credentials from Arnold, and a written request that "the person" should come on shore for the purpose of a personal interview. This was a new and unlooked for turn of the affair, and some discussion ensued as to what should be done. Andre soon put an end to it by announcing his fixed resolution to land, be the danger what it might. The game he was playing required boldness, and necessarily involved peril of no slight extent. Covering his uniform with a close and heavy overcoat, he jumped into the boat, which in a few minutes, pushed onward by men who felt throughout the danger they had run, reached the shore. In the dense underwood, at a short distance from the bank, at the foot of the Clove mountain, shrouded in the thickest darkness, Arnold and Andre met.

They met, and talked long and anxiously. The secrets

297

of that midnight conference never have been revealed. With what feelings they must have listened to each other's whispers, in the darkness of that hour! The young Englishman anxious, confident, and careless of any consequence but failure in his enterprise; looking forward to a career of usefulness and distinction, to be begun by a great result: the American, brave enough in the field of battle, but worse than a coward in the progress of a plan like this, starting at every sound that broke the stillness of the hour, and whispering his details of treason, and bartering away for money the rich honours of a past career. His future, in any event, was heavily clouded. Whilst the conference was in progress, they were interrupted by an intimation from Smith that his boat's crew were becoming impatient, and that daylight, near at hand, would oblige them to remove from a situation so exposed. Thus disturbed in their incomplete arrangements, Andre was persuaded to consent that the boatmen should be dismissed, and to accompany Arnold to a point higher up the shore, where he might remain concealed till all should be consummated. Here was the fatal error that cost him his life. Mounting the horses, which were at hand—probably those "very best" required by the letter of the 19th of September, they rode on towards Smith's house, a few miles higher up. On their way, in the dusk of the early morning, to Andre's horror and amazement—for there is no reason to doubt that on this point he was sincere in what he said—he heard the challenge of the sentinels, and found himself a spy and a traitor's confederate within the American lines. Up to this time he wore his British uniform.

Andre and Arnold remained at Smith's house during the day; and, whilst there, they observed that the Vulture, annoyed by the neighbouring batteries, had fallen lower down the river, thus adding to the embarrassment of Andre's situation. No mode of escape remained but by a

journey by land, on the left bank of the river, through the line of American works, and a most disturbed district of country. On the evening of the 22d, Andre, having left his regimentals, and assumed a plain dress, in company with Smith, crossed the river, on his way to New York. He had with him, concealed in his stockings, detailed descriptions, in Arnold's writing, of the post and garrison of West Point, and the distribution of the troops, who were to be so disposed, or rather dispersed, that no effectual resistance could be made to an assault. These papers have been recently published, and there is nothing which so strongly illustrates this tangled plan of iniquity as these curious memoranda. Strange to say, these were in Arnold's writing, without the least attempt at disguise or concealment.

The rest of this dark story is well known. Andre's journey from Verplank's Point to Tarrytown, near which he was arrested on the morning of the 23d September, has been often described, and yet familiar as it is, no one can now read it but with breathless interest. On the morning of the 25th, time enough having elapsed as Arnold might well suppose for Andre to be out of danger, and Smith having the day before reported him to be well on his journey, Jamieson's unaccountable letter was received communicating the news of the arrest. Arnold received it whilst breakfasting with two of Washington's staff at his headquarters, at Robinson's house. The shock of such intelligence must have been tremendous, but his characteristic hardihood did not fail him. No one of his guests observed any remarkable agitation at the moment, though afterwards they remembered, or fancied that they did, that Arnold's lip quivered, and his brow became pallid as he read the letter which told him not only that his elaborate plans were frustrated, but that he was in extreme personal danger.———He saw that no time was to be lost. Washington was momentarily expected on his return from

Hartford, and there was reason to fear that the next news might be an order for his arrest. Jamieson might recover from his bewilderment, and cut off his retreat. Arnold, pretending that he was called suddenly to West Point, hastened to his wife's room, told of his crime and his danger, but, unable to pause long enough to utter a word of consolation for her wretchedness, mounting his horse, he hurried to the river bank, where his boat lay always in readiness. Hoisting his handkerchief as a flag of truce to pass the American batteries and guard-boats, he was in a few minutes on the deck of the Vulture, which lay at anchor a short distance below. How different was his attitude from that which, in the triumph of his treason, he hoped to occupy! Solitary, powerless, without influence or success, he came to throw himself on the reluctant charity of those whom he knew despised him, and to confess that all the machinations from which he had promised so much, were utterly inoperative of result. And when afterwards the news of poor Andre's fate reached the British camp, what new loathing must have been felt among Andre's friends and fellow-soldiers for the worthless blood-stained traitor!

Never did Washington appear to greater advantage; never did the traits of his character, his grave deliberative heroism, his power of control, more happily exhibit themselves than on the detection of Arnold's treason, and in the punishment of Andre. From the first moment of discovery to the last, he was betrayed into no vehemence of language, or violence of temper. Deeply mortified at finding his confidence misplaced, his only anxiety was to do justice to those against whom Arnold and his partisans had sought to poison him, and to remove the idea that their wiles had been successful. In this view he wrote promptly and decisively to Governor Reed who had been the especial target of malignity, and branded on Arnold's unblushing forehead the memorable words which have

already been more than once quoted. Sincerely sympathizing with Andre's misfortunes, and mourning with a brave man's pity at his inevitable fate, Washington knew that to allow the course of justice to be turned aside by personal considerations would be fatal to the substantial interests of the cause for which America was fighting, and a bounty on treason hereafter. If Andre who had come secretly with a traitor in the American camp, was pardoned merely because he had rank and accomplishment and talent, how could execution be hereafter done on any one? Washington decided it like a wise and good and brave man, and no impartial inquirer has ever condemned him. The blood of Andre was upon the head of Arnold.

We have not the heart to follow the traitor farther, or to narrate his ruffianlike incursions at the head of British troops and refugees into Virginia and Connecticut. In enormity they exceed belief. Nor have we space to complete the record of his contemned old age. A mendicant of royal bounty, wandering about the streets of London—insulted in the gallery of parliament, repelled by his own countrymen as an object they detested, Arnold languished out the residue of his life in obscurity, and died in London, on the 14th June, 1801, at the age of sixty-one.

A late writer has said that "Arnold's treason has sunk the memory of his noble qualities," and seems to intimate that in this oblivion, injustice has been done. If we have read the narrative of his life aright, if the scrutiny of his whole career, made in no spirit of detraction, is not utterly deceptive, if boyhood with its malicious mischief, and manhood in its ascending scale of crime justify any inference, if, as we believe it to be, treason to one's country is a mode of iniquity that excludes the redeeming qualities which sometimes soften crime, then ought we to reject decisively that indulgent or perverse theory which finds excuse in one solitary, detached, accidental act of virtuous impulse. But for Arnold's kindness to Warren's orphan

children, an incident of which quite as much has been made as it deserves, a thousand crimes would have been linked to no single virtue, and the monotony of his career would have been dreary indeed. Even as it is, in the name of American patriotism—of the unthanked virtue of the Revolution, of those who first detected and at vast personal risk and in the face of a tide of obloquy, exposed his enormities, of Washington, whom he basely betrayed, and would have sacrificed—in the name of all that was good and generous and truly heroic in our heroic age, do we remonstrate against a word of astute apology or extenuation of that which the common sense of mankind has united to condemn. The solitary traitor of the American Revolution should be allowed to stand on the bad eminence which his iniquity has won.

MAJOR-GENERAL WILLIAM SMALLWOOD.

This officer was a native of Maryland. He arrived in New York at the head of a battalion on the 8th of August, 1776, and was in the actions which followed Long Island and at White Plains. On the 23d of October he was created a brigadier-general. In the summer of 1777, he accompanied General Sullivan on his expedition to Staten Island. When the British arrived in the Chesapeake, he was despatched to assemble the militia of the western shore of Maryland, with about one thousand of whom he joined the main army on the 28th of September. In the battle of Germantown, General Forman and General Smallwood led the militia of New Jersey and Maryland. On the 19th of December, learning that the British in-

GEN! SMALLWOOD.

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tended to establish a post at Wilmington, in Delaware, the commander-in-chief directed General Smallwood to occupy that place. In the following year he was not engaged in any conspicuous service. In September, 1780, while he was with the army under General Gates, in the south, he was appointed a major-general, upon the ground that his state was entitled to an officer of that rank. When General Gates was superseded, after the battle of Camden, by General Greene, General Smallwood returned to the north, refusing to serve under Baron Steuben, who was his senior officer, and declaring his intention to leave the service unless Congress should cause his commission to be dated two years before his appointment.*

General Smallwood was elected a member of Congress by Maryland, in 1785, and in the same year was chosen governor. He held the latter office three years. He died in February, 1792.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN P. DE HAAS.

John Philip De Haas was probably a native of Pennsylvania. He is alluded to in a letter addressed to Mifflin as a man who will be likely to do good service with opportunity. He was appointed a brigadier-general for Pennsylvania on the 21st of February, 1777.

* This claim was merely absurd. General Washington said of it, in a letter to Greene, dated 9th of January, 1780, "I cannot conceive upon what principles his claim of seniority is founded. If the date of his commission is to be carried back to any given period previous to his appointment, it may supersede not only the officers now in question, but many others, and indeed derange and throw into confusion the rank of the whole line of major-generals."

MAJOR-GENERAL ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

THE unhappy history of Arthur St. Clair is familiar in its more prominent features. It is known that he was brave, patriotic, and esteemed by the greatest of men; that in the game of war he was a loser, and that he suffered that loss of consideration which is usually incurred by misfortune. But with the details of his life no one has made us acquainted. We glean with difficulty the few particulars that are accessible, from the narrative of his last disastrous campaign, and from contemporaneous memoirs and correspondence.

He was born in Edinburgh in the autumn of 1734, of a respectable but not opulent family; and after graduating at the university of his native city, studied medicine. The inactive and monotonous life of a physician, however, did not suit his ardent temperament, and obtaining a lieutenant's commission, through some influential relation, he entered the army, and in 1755 arrived with Admiral Boscawen in Canada, where he served several years with distinguished credit, and was present with General Wolfe, in September, 1759, in the battle on the plains of Abraham, in which that heroic commander purchased victory and conquest with his life. He was now made a captain, and after the peace of 1763 was appointed to the command of Fort Ligonier, in western Pennsylvania.

It is not known how long St. Clair retained his commission in the British army; but his correspondence with Governor Penn shows that he purchased a tract of land, entered upon the business of farming, and turned his mathematical knowledge to advantage as a surveyor, sometime before the close of 1773, when he was an active and prominent magistrate in Westmoreland county. He

watched with interested attention the events which preceded the Revolution, and was known, as well for his patriotism as for his ability, to the intelligent friends of liberty throughout the country. In December, 1775, he was appointed a colonel in the continental army. At this time he was clerk of the Court of Quarter Sessions, register of wills, recorder of deeds, and surveyor of the county; and all his offices were lucrative. He enjoyed the confidence and friendship of his acquaintances, was rapidly accumulating a fortune, and had a wife to whom he was tenderly attached, and five children equally dear to him. But holding that there was no law above the need of his country, he quickly abandoned his prosperous ease; and reporting himself to the Congress, in Philadelphia, on the 22d of January, 1776, he received instructions to raise a regiment for service in Canada. In six weeks his ranks were filled, and on the 11th of May he was in the vicinity of Quebec, just in time to cover the retreat of the defeated and dispirited forces under Arnold. He remained in the north during the summer, associated with Sullivan, Anthony Wayne, and other officers, and winning the respect of all of them by his intelligence, activity, and agreeable manners. On the 9th of August he was appointed a brigadier-general, and in the autumn was ordered to join the commander-in-chief, in New Jersey, where he participated in the events of Trenton and Princeton.

Thus far the career of St. Clair had been prosperous. His military experience acquired during the war with France, and his knowledge of the country and the spirit and resources of the people, gave him an advantage at the commencement of the struggle over most of the native and foreign officers in the continental army; and though he had not had an opportunity to distinguish himself in the field, he had steadily grown in the favourable estimation of the commander-in-chief, the army, and the Congress. On the 19th of February, 1777, he was appointed a major-

general, and after performing a short time the duties of adjutant-general, was ordered to report himself to General Schuyler, then in charge of the northern department, under whose direction, on the 12th of June, he assumed the command of Ticonderoga. He found the works here and at Mount Independence, on the opposite side of Lake Champlain, garrisoned by less than two thousand men, badly armed, and nearly destitute of stores; but divided into several regiments, with full complements of officers, and three brigadiers. General Gates, in the previous year, had demanded for the defence of Ticonderoga ten thousand regulars, and authority to call for an unlimited number of volunteers; but Congress had since received the erroneous information that a large portion of the British army in Canada was on the way to New York by sea, and that no serious incursions were to be apprehended from the northern frontier; and the troops needed for the defence of the posts above Albany were consequently detained near the Hudson. On the 5th of July, having ascertained that a force of more than seven thousand British and Germans was approaching under General Burgoyne, and would completely invest the place in twenty-four hours, General St. Clair determined, with the unanimous advice of a council of officers, consisting of General De Rochefermoy, General Patterson, General Poor, and Colonel-Commandant Long, immediately to evacuate the post. At midnight, Colonel Long, with the principal portion of the stores and several companies, departed in boats for Skeensborough, at the head of the lake, and at the same hour the army crossed unperceived to the Vermont shore, whence the main body marched by way of Benson and Fairhaven toward Castleton, and the rear guard, consisting of three imperfect regiments under Colonels Warner, Francis, and Hale, started for the same point by the more northern route of Hubbardton.

The battle of Hubbardton, which was fought with singu-

lar bravery by troops worthy to be compared with the famous riflemen of Morgan, took place on the following day. As soon as the retreat of the Americans had been ascertained, General Frazier commenced the pursuit, and coming up with Colonel Hale's detachment of militia, in the western part of the town, easily made them prisoners. Warner and Francis chose a strong position, about two miles farther eastward, and eight miles from Castleton, where the British attacked them with great impetuosity, expecting an easy victory; but after an hour's continuous and rapid firing they began to give way, and would have been defeated but for the timely arrival of General Reidesel with a large reinforcement, when the Americans were compelled to give up the contest. Hale was a prisoner, Francis was killed, and Warner, with a considerable portion of his marksmen, reached Manchester, and united with Stark, in time to aid in the brilliant affair of Bennington. From two to three hundred, who had fled in disorder, rejoined St. Clair, on the 8th and 9th, at Rutland, and others by various routes found their way to the camp of Gates, at Saratoga. The British loss in killed and wounded was two hundred and eighty-three, and about the same number were left on the field and in the neighbouring farmhouses by the Americans. On the 12th of July General St. Clair, who on account of the occupation of Skeensborough by the British had been compelled to change the line of his retreat, reached Fort Edward, where the decimated companies of Colonel Long had already arrived by the way of Fort Anne.

From the gallantry shown in its capture by Allen and Arnold, near the commencement of the war, and for other causes, the retention of Ticonderoga appears at this time to have been regarded as a point of honour; the condemnation of St. Clair for its evacuation was common and earnest, and Schuyler shared in the clamorous censure bestowed by the disappointed, vexed, and unreasoning upon

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his subordinate. Both generals were suspended and summoned to Philadelphia, and Gates was placed in command of the district, in season to reap the advantages of Schuyler's wise administration and arrangements. Though St. Clair made constant efforts to procure a trial, he was for many months unsuccessful. He remained however with the army; was with Washington on the 11th of September, 1777, at Brandywine; was employed with Hamilton to settle a general cartel with the British commissioners at Amboy on the 9th of March, 1780; and by his faithfulness and activity in many ways showed how much he was superior to that policy toward him which Washington himself characterized as "cruel and oppressive." At length the affair was investigated, by a court martial, whose report was submitted to Congress in the month of October, 1778. The court were unanimously of opinion that Ticonderoga could not have been defended against the approaching army of Burgoyne, and that the commander evinced sound judgment and heroic resolution in abandoning it; and closed their report with the declaration that "*Major-General St. Clair is acquitted with the highest honour of the charges exhibited against him.*" Congress approved without a dissenting voice the proceedings of the court, and the injured general, thus triumphantly vindicated, was restored to his rightful position.

Washington's confidence in St. Clair had not been in the slightest degree impaired, and he soon testified in a flattering manner his appreciation of his merits. The movement of Sir Henry Clinton with a large body of troops toward Rhode Island, occasioned preparations for an attack on New York, and he was offered the command of the light infantry, usually held by Lafayette. The return of Clinton however prevented the attempt, and St. Clair was not called to any prominent service, until the defection of Arnold, when he was ordered to take charge of West Point. In 1781 he aided to suppress the mutiny in the

Pennsylvania line, and was active in organizing and forwarding troops to the south. He would himself have followed to take command of the army in Virginia, which had been offered to him, but for an order to remain near Philadelphia, induced by the fears of Congress that a blow would be struck at that city to create a diversion in favour of Cornwallis. The pressing request of Washington at length caused the order to be revoked, and he was permitted to join the commander-in-chief before Yorktown, where he arrived but a few days before Cornwallis's capitulation. He was soon after sent with six regiments to reinforce the southern army, and reported himself to General Greene, at Jacksonburgh, on the 27th of December; but seeing no prospect of active operations, and confident that the war was nearly over, early in the summer of 1782 he returned to his family. His course through the Revolution had been useful and honourable but not brilliant, and the consideration in which he was held after its close was evinced by his return to Congress by the legislature of Pennsylvania, in 1786, and his election as speaker soon after he took his seat in that body.

In the year 1788 General St. Clair was appointed by Congress the first governor of the North-western Territory. The losses he had sustained in the war, from the depreciation of the currency, and other causes, were larger perhaps than had been suffered by any other officer, and his friends saw in this appointment the means of retrieving his fortune. But "they did not know," he says, "how little I was qualified to avail myself of any advantages, had they existed;" and he was probably correct in saying that the acceptance of the office was "the most imprudent act of his life." Upon the organization of the federal government he was re-appointed to the office by Washington, and he held it until within a few weeks of the termination of the territorial administration, in the winter of 1802–3, when he was removed by Mr. Jefferson.

It was while he was governor, in 1791, that he suffered his memorable defeat from the western Indians. The failure of the expedition under General Harmer had led to the adoption of more energetic measures for the punishment of the refractory tribes north-west of the Ohio, and Governor St. Clair was appointed a major-general, and with fourteen hundred men encamped near the Miami villages, on the 3d of November, 1791. The next morning, an hour before sunrise, the army was attacked and in a few minutes surrounded by the savages. The militia, who were in advance, received the first fire, and fled precipitately through the main body, throwing them into a confusion from which they did not entirely recover during the action, which lasted about four hours. General St. Clair was in feeble health, but he behaved with singular coolness and bravery. His principal officers, and some of his men also, displayed much intrepidity, and made several effective charges with the bayonet; but the troops did not recover from the surprise into which they were thrown at the commencement, and at length broke and fled in disorder. The loss in this battle and in the retreat was thirty-eight officers and five hundred and ninety-three men killed, and twenty-one officers and two hundred and forty-two men wounded. A committee of the House of Representatives was appointed to inquire into the causes of this disastrous result, and after a patient investigation of the subject, which extended through two sessions of Congress, it made reports which were honourable to the veteran soldier's reputation and conciliatory to his feelings.

After his removal from the office of Governor, in 1802, General St. Clair returned once more to Ligonier valley. Fourteen years of fatigue, privation and danger, had left him bereft of the property which remained to him at the close of the Revolution, and the influence he had then possessed at home had also passed away in his long absence. He devoted several years to the unsuccessful pro-

secution of claims against the government, which were generally believed to be just, but were barred by technicalities; and then, despairing and broken hearted, he sought a shelter in the family of a widowed daughter, who like himself was in the most abject destitution. At length the state of Pennsylvania, from considerations of personal respect and gratitude for his past services, settled on him an annuity of three hundred dollars, and this was soon after raised to six hundred and fifty, which secured to him a comfortable subsistence for the brief remainder of his life. The venerable and unfortunate soldier died at Greensburg, from an injury received while riding near that village, on the 31st of August, 1818, in his eighty-fourth year; and in a few days afterwards his widow, who for many years had been partially deranged, died at about the same age. An obelisk has been placed over his remains, inscribed: "*A humble monument, which is erected to supply the place of a nobler one due from his country.*"

BRIGADIER-GENERAL SAMUEL ELBERT.

Samuel Elbert of Georgia entered the army as a lieutenant-colonel in 1776. He was engaged in the expedition against East Florida, and acted gallantly at the head of a brigade in the action at Brier creek, on the second of March, 1779, when he was taken prisoner. He was brevetted brigadier-general on the 3d of November, 1783. In 1786 he was governor of Georgia, and he died at Savannah, in that state, on the 3d of November, 1788, aged forty-five years.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL WILLIAM IRVINE.

William Irvine was born near Enniskillen, in Ireland, in 1744, and received his classical education at the University of Dublin. He evinced at an early age a partiality for the military profession, but his desire to enter it was overruled by his parents, in compliance with whose wishes he studied medicine and surgery. Upon receiving his diploma, however, he obtained the appointment of surgeon in the British navy, in which he continued until near the close of the war with France, from 1754 to 1763, when he resigned his place, removed to America, and settled in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, where in a few years he acquired a high reputation and an extensive practice as a physician.

From the beginning, Dr. Irvine was deeply interested in the controversy between the colonies and the home government. He was a member of the Pennsylvania convention which assembled in Philadelphia on the 15th of July, 1774, to take into consideration the state of the country, and as a member of this body supported the resolutions denouncing the Boston Port Bill, and recommending a continental Congress. He was the representative of Carlisle until January, 1776, when he was commissioned to raise and command a regiment in the Pennsylvania line. At the head of his troops he reached the mouth of the Sorel, in Canada, on the 10th of June; was associated with General Thompson in the unsuccessful attempt which was made to surprise the van-guard of the British army at Trois Rivieres; and with his commander, and about two hundred subordinate officers and privates, was captured and conveyed to Quebec, where in consequence

of some misunderstanding respecting exchanges, he was many months detained as a prisoner.

Upon his release, he was made a brigadier-general in the militia, in which capacity he was wounded and taken prisoner in the action at Chesnut Hill, New Jersey, in December, 1777. On the 12th of May, 1779, he was appointed a brigadier in the continental service, and in the following summer and winter he was occupied in New Jersey, where he was associated with Lord Stirling in his expedition against Staten Island, and with General Wayne in the affair of Bull's Ferry. For a considerable time he was engaged in recruiting in Pennsylvania, but was not very successful. He applied for and received permission of the commander-in-chief to raise a corps of cavalry, with which to go into active service, but does not appear to have accomplished his design. On the 8th of March, 1782, he received his instructions as commander of Fort Pitt, for which post he immediately marched with the second Pennsylvania regiment. His duties here, comprehending the defence of the north-western frontier, then menaced with a British and Indian invasion, were difficult and important, and they were executed with an ability and integrity that secured the approbation of the government, and his continuance in the command until the close of the war.

In 1785, General Irvine was appointed by the President of Pennsylvania an agent to examine the public lands set apart in that state for the remuneration of her troops; and upon the completion of this duty he was elected a member of Congress. Soon after taking his seat in which body, he was selected one of the commissioners to settle the accounts between the several states, connected with their respective contributions for the support of the war. He was next a member of the convention for the formation of a constitution of Pennsylvania. At the time of the Whisky Insurrection in the western

part of that state, he was one of the commissioners, joined with others appointed by Congress, who proceeded to the scene of the revolt, with terms of settlement; and when the overtures of the commissioners were rejected, he was placed at the head of the Pennsylvania militia which marched against the insurgents. When these disturbances were brought to a close, General Irvine, now at an advanced age, removed to Philadelphia, where he held the office of intendent of military stores, and was president of the Pennsylvania Society of the Cincinnati until his death, which took place in the summer of 1804, when he was in the sixty-third year of his age.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL GEORGE WEEDON.

George Weedon was a native of Virginia, and before the Revolution was an innkeeper at Fredericksburg. Dr. Smyth, an Englishman who published, in London, in 1784, a very clever book of travels in America, observes that he put up at the house of Weedon, "who was then very active and zealous in blowing the flames of sedition." General Mercer was then a physican and apothecary in the same village. Weedon was appointed a brigadier-general on the 21st of February, 1777. While the army was at Valley Forge he retired from the service on account of some difficulty respecting rank with General Woodford. In 1781 he was with the Virginia militia at Gloucester, in that state, but he never distinguished himself, nor was intrusted with a separate command.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL JAMES M. VARNUM.

James Mitchell Varnum was born in Dracut, Massachusetts,—long the residence of his family,—in the year 1749, and was educated at the Rhode Island college, now Brown University, at which he graduated with a high reputation for scholarship in the twentieth year of his age, vindicating with much ability in a commencement discussion the right of the colonies to resist British taxation. He subsequently studied the law, with Attorney-General Arnold, and on being admitted to the bar settled at East Greenwich, where he rapidly acquired an extensive and lucrative practice. As the troubles thickened with England he turned his attention to a military life, joined the "Kentish Guards," and in 1774 was made commander of that company, which during the revolution gave to the army General Greene, Colonel Crary, Major Whitmarsh, and some thirty other commissioned officers. When intelligence of the battle of Lexington reached Rhode Island, Varnum started with his associates for the scene of action; but they returned upon hearing that the enemy had retired to Boston, and when the legislature assembled, the next week, Greene was appointed a brigadier-general, and Varnum and two others colonels, with which rank they were soon after admitted to the continental establishment.

On the 21st of February, 1777, Varnum was commissioned as a brigadier-general, and on the 3d of March Washington communicated to him his promotion in a very flattering letter. When Burgoyne approached Ticonderoga, the commander-in-chief, anticipating an attempt to unite to that general's forces the army in New York, ordered General Varnum with his brigade to Peekskill, on the Hudson; and on the 1st of November he was detached

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311

to Red Bank, where he commanded all the American troops on the Jersey side of the Delaware when the British took possession of Philadelphia, having orders to annoy and retard as much as possible the shipping on its passage up the river. It was under his direction that Major Thayer, of the Rhode Island regiment, made that gallant defence of Fort Mifflin, from the 12th to the 15th of November, for which Congress presented a sword to Lieutenant-Colonel Smith of the Maryland line, ignorant of the fact that that officer had relinquished the command of the fort on the day before the commencement of Lord Howe's attack. In the following winter, Varnum was with the commander-in-chief at Valley Forge, and his letters, quoted by Mr. Sparks,* present vivid pictures of the sufferings of the army during that memorable period. In the spring of 1778 he proposed the raising of a battalion of negroes in Rhode Island, and the legislature passed an act giving "absolute freedom to every slave who should enter the service and pass muster." In May he marched under Major-General Charles Lee to the North River, and in July was ordered with his brigade to join Sullivan in his expedition to Rhode Island, in which he served under the immediate orders of Lafayette. He resigned his commission in 1779, when the number of general officers was greater than was required for the army, and was soon after elected major-general of the militia of his native state, which office he continued to hold until his death.

In April, 1780, General Varnum was elected a member of the old Congress, in the proceedings of which he took an active part until the passage of the revenue bill of 1781, when he returned to Rhode Island to enforce in her legislature the sanction and adoption of that measure, but failed in his efforts, and was succeeded by the demagogue David Howell. For several years he devoted

* Writings of Washington, v. 193, 240.

himself assiduously and with eminent success to his profession, and in 1785 was a second time returned to Congress, where his activity, earnestness and eloquence secured to him much influence. When General St. Clair was appointed governor of the North-west Territory, General Varnum was selected to be one of the judges of its supreme court, and in June, 1788, he removed to Marietta, to enter upon the duties of his new office. His health had been for several years declining, and on the 17th of January, 1789, he died.

The career of General Varnum was brief and brilliant. He was but thirty-one years of age when he retired from the army, and but forty at his death. He was reputed to be a good officer, but had little opportunity to acquire military distinction. His forensic abilities however were of a high order, and the fulness of his knowledge, his quick apprehension, and the grace and power of his oratory, inspired the brightest hopes of his civic career.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL WILLIAM WOODFORD.

William Woodford was born in Caroline county, Virginia, in 1734. He distinguished himself in the French and Indian war, and when the Virginia convention, on the 17th of July, 1775, passed an ordinance for raising two regiments to act in defence of the colony, Patrick Henry was appointed colonel of the first, and he of the second. In the military operations which followed, in the vicinity of Williamsburg, he displayed ability and courage, particularly in the battle of Great Bridge, fought on the 9th of December, upon which occasion he had the

chief command, and gained a decided victory. He had resigned a colonel's commission in the continental service, and when, therefore, upon the recommendation of the commander-in-chief, he was appointed a brigadier-general, on the 21st of February, 1777, and was named after Muhlenburg and Weedon of the same state, he would have refused the office, but for the persuasion of Washington. "You may feel hurt," wrote his friend, "at having two officers placed before you, though perhaps never to command you, who were inferior in point of rank to you; but remember that this is a consequence of your own act, and consider what a stake we are contending for. Trifling punctilios should have no influence upon a man's conduct in such a cause and at such a time as this. If smaller matters do not yield to greater—if trifles, light as air in comparison with what we are contending for, can withdraw or withhold gentlemen from service, when our all is at stake, and a single cast of the die may turn the tables, what are we to expect?" He accepted the commission, and assumed the command of the Virginia regiment. In the battle of Brandywine he was wounded in the hand, so as to be compelled for a few days to leave the camp. He was in the battle of Monmouth, and in December, 1779, was ordered to the south. He was among the prisoners taken by the British at Charleston on the 12th of May, 1780, and being taken to New York in that summer, died there, on the 13th of November, in the thirty-sixth year of his age.

GEN: OTHO H. WILLIAMS.

O. H. Williams

BRIGADIER-GENERAL OTHO H. WILLIAMS.

Otho Holland Williams was a native of Prince George's, Maryland, and was born in 1748. He entered the revolutionary army, in 1775, as lieutenant of a rifle company, being then twenty-seven years of age. His first distinguished service was at the attack on Fort Washington, near Boston, when he held the rank of major. Having twice repulsed the Hessians, who attempted to dislodge him from his post, at their third onset he was wounded and taken prisoner. Some time elapsed before he was exchanged, during which he was made colonel. Subsequently he acted as adjutant-general of the northern army, in which capacity he was present at the battle of Camden. After that disastrous defeat the remnant of the forces were organized into a single regiment, of which Williams took command, and though in the extremest destitution, the officers succeeded in rendering it a well-disciplined and, as was afterwards proved, an efficient body. When General Greene assumed the command of the southern department Williams once more was made adjutant-general, and on every occasion gained great honour. The successful retreat of the army through North Carolina was in a great measure due to the skill and gallantry with which he covered the movement with the rear guard.

Williams is, however, best known for his charge at the battle of Eutaw Springs, where he decided the fortune of the day. At the very crisis of the fight, he brought up his command to sweep the field with their bayonets. Military annals record no more brilliant achievement. Steadily under a shower of fire, that devoted band moved over the bloody battle-ground. They were irresistible; before

them death threatened their approach, and behind them were only the stern marks of their passage. They gained the victory, but their thinned ranks and the fallen bodies of their comrades strewing the field told how dearly.

Towards the close of the war Williams was made a brigadier-general. Soon afterwards he received the appointment of collector of customs for the state of Maryland. This lucrative office he subsequently received under the federal government, and held it until his death, which took place on the 16th of July, 1794, at the age of forty-six years. This early decease was caused by his sufferings while a prisoner in the hands of the British, and his exposure while at the south.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL STEPHEN MOYLAN.

STEPHEN MOYLAN was a native of Ireland, and was residing in Pennsylvania at the beginning of the Revolution. He was among the first to hasten to the camp at Cambridge, and being a man of education and gentlemanly address, he was selected by Washington on the 5th of March, 1776, to be one of his aides-de-camp, and on the 5th of the following June, at his recommendation, was appointed commissary-general. The want of exact business habits rendered him unfit for the commissary department, and he soon resigned this place to enter the line of the army, as a volunteer. In the beginning of 1777 he commanded a regiment of dragoons; on the 4th of October in the same year he was at Germantown; in the winter following he was at Valley Forge; in 1779 he was on the Hudson and in Connecticut; on the 20th of July, 1780, accompanied Wayne on the expedition to Bull's Ferry; and in 1781 was sent with the Pennsylvania troops to join General Greene, in the south. He was made brigadier-general, by brevet, on the 3d of November, 1783.

MAJOR-GENERAL ALEXANDER McDOUGALL.

THERE are few names in our annals upon which we linger with more satisfaction than upon that of the gallant and true-hearted Alexander McDougall. "*His* zeal is unquestionable," wrote Washington to Schuyler, as early as the middle of August, 1775, when he turned almost disheartened from contemplating the sordid aims and petty rivalries that were exhibited in the camp; "I wish every officer in the army could appeal to his own heart," he wrote to McDougall in May, 1777, "and find the same principles of conduct that I am persuaded actuate you: we should then experience more consistency, zeal, and steadiness, than we do now, in but too many instances;" and many years afterwards the same sagacious judge of human character, in a letter to Thomas Jefferson, lamented the "brave soldier and disinterested patriot" as one of the fallen pillars of the revolution.

The father of Alexander McDougall was a farmer, in moderate circumstances, who at an early age had emigrated from Scotland and settled in the vicinity of New York, in which city the youth of the soldier was passed in various active employments. Here he watched with keen-sighted vigilance the aggressive steps of the royal government; and when the Assembly faltered in its opposition to the usurpations of the crown, and in the winter of 1769, insulted the people by rejecting a proposition authorizing the vote by ballot, and by entering upon the favourable consideration of a bill of supplies for troops quartered in the city to overawe the inhabitants, he issued an address, under the title of "A Son of Liberty to the Betrayed Inhabitants of the Colony," in which he contrasted the Assembly with the legislative bodies in other

parts of the country, and held up their conduct to unmitigated and just indignation. The bold rebuke was laid before the house by its speaker, and, with the single exception of Philip Schuyler, every member voted that it was "an infamous and seditious libel." A proclamation for the discovery of the author was issued by the governor; it was traced to McDougall; and he was taken on a bench warrant and brought before the chief justice. Clearly reading in the signs about him the future history of the country, he exclaimed, as he was conveyed to prison, "I rejoice that I am the first sufferer for liberty since the commencement of our glorious struggle." From his place of confinement he poured forth continued appeals to the people, full of scornful reproaches of his oppressors, and bold avowals of revolutionary opinions. Women of the first consideration sought by visits to soften the severity of his punishment; in every circle his case was the subject of impassioned conversation; and he became in an especial manner the idol of the masses, who saw in the elevation of one of their own number that in the controversy upon which they were entering there were to be no distinctions but such as awaited faith and energy. At the end of three months an indictment was found against him by a packed jury; and after he had incurred the penalty of the law he was brought before the Assembly, at its next session, and it was moved that the infliction of *peine forte et dure* should be imposed to extort from him a humiliating recantation; but he answered to the threat undauntedly, that "rather than resign his rights and privileges as a British subject, he would suffer his right hand to be cut off at the bar of the house."

Set at liberty, McDougall entered into correspondence with the master-spirits in all parts of the country; and when the celebrated meeting in the fields was held, on the 6th of July, 1774, preparatory to the election of the

New York delegates to the first general congress, he was called to preside, and resolutions prepared by him were adopted, pointing out the mode of choosing deputies, inveighing against the Boston Port Bill, and urging upon the proposed congress the prohibition of all commercial intercourse with Great Britain.

McDougall was appointed colonel of the first revolutionary regiment that was raised in New York, and on the 9th of August, 1776, he was created a brigadier-general. On the evening of the 29th of the same month he was selected by Washington to superintend the embarkation of the troops from Brooklyn; he was actively engaged on Chatterton's Hill and in various places in New Jersey; and when General Heath, in the spring of 1777, left Peekskill to assume the command of the eastern department, he succeeded that officer, but was compelled by a superior force, sent up the river by General Howe, to retreat from the town, destroying a considerable supply of stores, on the 23d of March. After the battle of Germantown, in which he participated, Washington recommended his appointment as a major-general. "From his abilities, military knowledge, and approved bravery," wrote the chief to the president of Congress, "he has every claim to promotion. If I mistake not, he was passed over in the last appointments of major-generals, and younger officers preferred before him; but his disinterested attachment to the service prevented his acting in the manner that is customary in like circumstances." His new commission was dated the 20th of October. On the 16th of March, 1778, he was directed to assume the command of the different posts on the Hudson, and, assisted by Kosciuszko, he pursued with activity the construction of the fortifications in the Highlands. He was actively but not conspicuously engaged in this part of the country until the close of 1780, when he was called upon by New York to repair to Congress as one of the repre-

sentatives of that state, as soon as he could obtain permission to leave the army. It was a critical moment. Washington urged his acceptance of the post, and he accordingly took his seat in the next January. The following letter, which he addressed to President Reed of Pennsylvania, while he was on the Hudson, is so characteristic that we quote it at length:

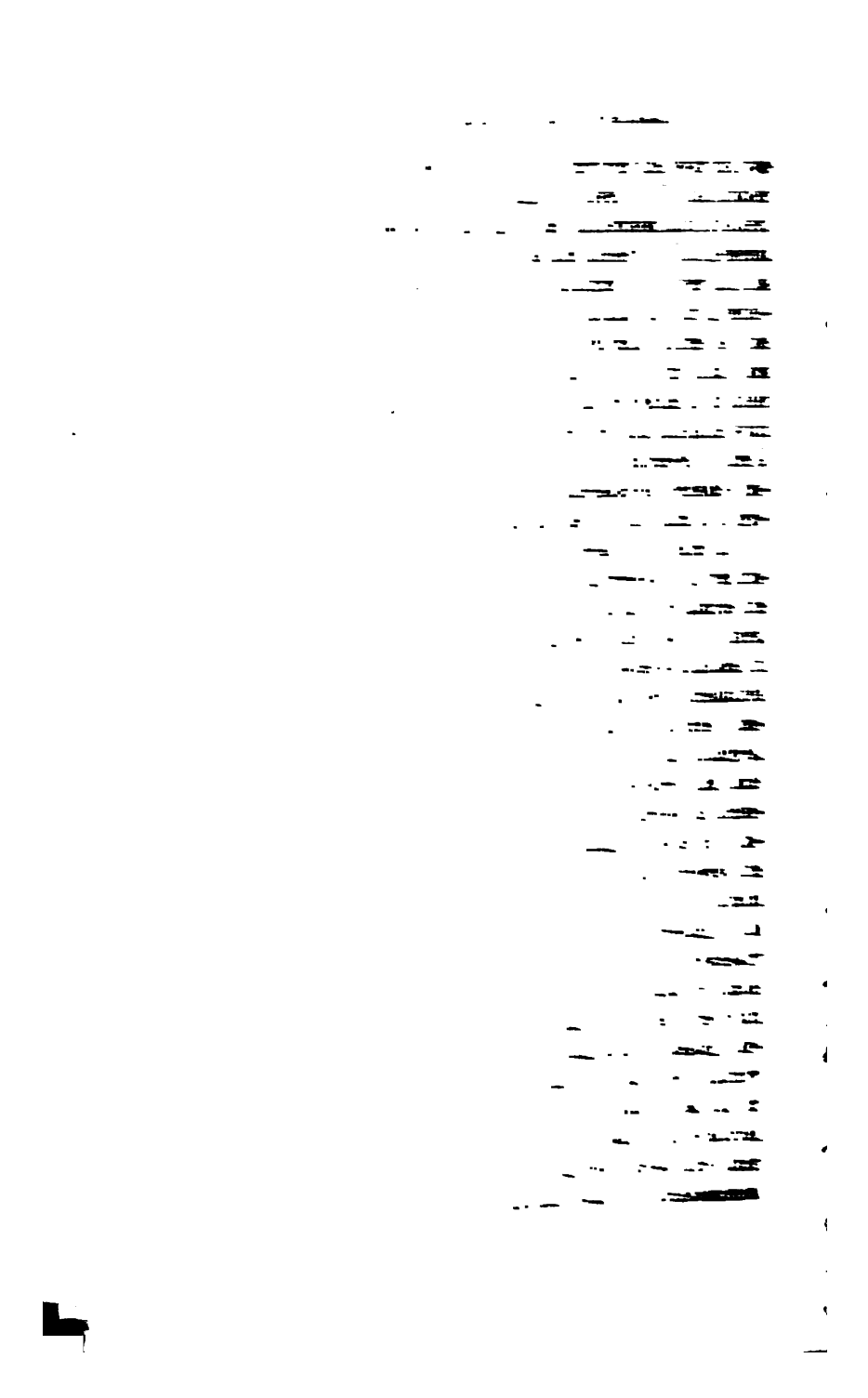
"*Head-quarters, Peekskill, March 25th*, 1779.

"MY DEAR SIR—I was honoured in due time with your favour of the 28th ultimo. I have written to Brigadier-General Huntington on the subject of Mr. Minar's complaint, and enclosed him certified copies of the depositions transmitted to you. General Parsons is at New London. The former being a gentleman and a man of nice feelings, and connected with Governor Trumbull, I considered him as the fittest person to aid in obtaining redress. It would give me great pleasure to visit your city, for many reasons. But the state of my command at these posts utterly forbids it. You will be informed by the enclosed of the state of the enemy in my front. And I am so closely kept to business, that I have not time to take proper rest. The grand army left me in a state little better than 'bare creation.' This, with a variety of posts, new works to erect, and the different communications at these posts, give me full employ, from reveille to tattoo. I assure you I am obliged, from the duties of the post, and the state of the times, to live a truly Spartan life. But this is not painful to me. It has been the misfortune of this country that every year has afforded some amusement to retard its exertions against the common enemy. At one time, reconciliation; at another, assistance from France is to effect our deliverance; this failing, our alliance with that people is to accomplish our redemption; now, Spain's acceding to our independency is the tub of the day. Those alliances are favourable, and natural, as they have

mutual interest for their bases, and there can be no important temptation to either of the parties to recede from them. But, my dear sir, if all Europe is to declare in our favour, this will not pay our debts, or restore our depreciated currency; and foreign loans will ruin us, by paying interest to foreigners, out of our country. Our deliverance, under God, must come from ourselves. The voice of Providence points it out; I had almost said, divine revelation does it. I own, however advantageous those alliances are to America, my hopes or expectations from them are not so sanguine as those of many others. One decisive naval victory in favour of your enemies will give them courage, vigour, and public credit. That nation, as such, is poor, but the individuals of it are rich, and they are well practised in all the arts of financiering. If that people are once brought, on such an event, to exert themselves in favour of their country, the war will be lengthened out much longer than our sanguine politicians imagine. We ought to be vigorously preparing for an offensive campaign, but instead of this, America is in a profound sleep.

"We vainly imagine the enemy will evacuate New York. He has no such intention. He is confident our currency will fail us, that three-fourths of the inhabitants of these states are pleased with the terms offered by the commissioners, and that whenever the supplies for the army fail, the people will return to their allegiance. He is now counterfeiting another emission, which will soon be out.

"I feel mortified that the troops in New York should hold America at defiance, and sure I am, they might be routed this campaign if early preparations are made. While the enemy is master of our coast, by our attempting to cover the whole country, we cover none of it. I know the commander-in-chief is embarrassed often for want of strength, and with the partial cries and views of



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After the close of the war, General McDougall was elected a member of the senate of New York, of which body he was a member when he died, in June, 1786.

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AT the commencement of the Revolution, Marblehead was the second town in Massachusetts, both in population and wealth, and immediately after the battle of Lexington, it sent a regiment of a thousand men, under Colonel John Glover, to join the army at Cambridge.

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"The want of the Journals of Congress is a great impediment to the public service; as in many instances the country and army are total strangers to the law of either, so far as it respects their conduct. Resolves published in newspapers get lost, and although they may be transmitted to the commander-in-chief, and by him to officers commanding departments, yet the latter are often changed, and the relievers are without law. I have more than once represented to that honourable body and some of its members the absolute necessity of publishing the acts of Congress in pamphlet form, at least so far as they respect the army: but without effect. I fear there is too much caballing amongst them, and that by their grasping to do every thing themselves, very little is done. All necessary boards should be constituted, and they should be made answerable for the faithful discharge of their trust with their heads. While we are pleasing and amusing ourselves with Spartan constitutions on paper, a very contrary spirit reigns triumphant in all ranks: we may look out for some fatal *catastrophy* to befall this people; our political constitutions and manners do not agree; one or the other must fall—give way—otherwise America is a phenomenon

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ton, and with his brave men led the advance of the army which crossed the Delaware under Washington, on the memorable 25th of December.

On the 21st of February, 1777, Congress conferred upon him the rank of brigadier-general. Distrusting his own ability for the station, he hesitated about accepting it, and on the 1st of April wrote to General Washington an intimation of his intention to decline. The chief answered, that "Diffidence in an officer is a good mark, because he will always endeavour to bring himself up to what he conceives to be the full line of his duty; but I think I may tell you, without flattery, that I know of no man better qualified than yourself to conduct a brigade. You have activity and industry; and as you very well know the duty of a colonel, you know how to exact that duty from others." After receiving this letter he changed his mind, accepted the office, and in a few days joined the army. In July he was ordered from Peekskill with his brigade to reinforce General Schuyler, whose force was supposed to be insufficient to oppose the progress of Burgoyne. General Glover was afterwards selected to conduct the surrendered army of Burgoyne through New England; and on various occasions during the war received the applause of the commander-in-chief. He joined the army under Greene in New Jersey, when it was intended to attack the enemy under Cornwallis, and in the summer of 1778, he was detached to Rhode Island under General Sullivan. In 1780, he was ordered into Massachusetts to superintend the forwarding of the drafts from that state, and he continued in service until the liberties of his country had been secured, and carried with him into retirement the esteem of Washington, and enjoyed in private life the grateful friendship of his fellow-citizens. He died at Marblehead, on the 30th of January, 1797, aged sixty-four years.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL LACHLAN McINTOSH.

JOHN MORE McINTOSH, hereditary chief of the clan McIntosh, lost his property in Scotland in consequence of the support which his family gave the Pretender in the Rebellion of 1715, and upon the invitation of General Oglethorpe, with one hundred and thirty Highlanders, who determined to follow his fortunes, he came to America in the winter of 1736, and settled upon the Altahama, in Georgia, at the point where now stands the city of Darien. When General Oglethorpe invaded Florida, in 1740, he followed him, at the head of his Highland company, and was taken prisoner by the Spaniards at Fort Moosa, near St. Augustine, and sent to Spain, where he was detained several years. He at length returned to America with a broken constitution, and in a short time died. His second son, Lachlan McIntosh, was about nine years of age when the family quitted Scotland, and his mother had since instructed him carefully in the common branches of an English education. General Oglethorpe had now gone back to England, and no schemes of ambition tempting him to remain in Georgia, he sought a more promising field of enterprise in Charleston, where the fame of his father's gallantry and misfortunes secured to him a kind reception from Henry Laurens, then one of the most eminent merchants of South Carolina, and afterwards known to the world as the President of Congress and the first Minister of the United States to Holland. In the family and the country house of Mr. Laurens he remained many years, and here he contracted friendships that lasted while he lived, with some of the leading citizens of the southern colonies. Having adopted the profession of a surveyor,

and married, he finally returned to Georgia, where he acquired a wide and honourable reputation before the commencement of hostilities with Great Britain, so that when a revolutionary government was organized, and a regiment was raised in Georgia to support the popular movement, he was unhesitatingly made colonel-commandant; and when the order was issued to raise three other regiments, in September, 1776, he was appointed brigadier-general.

The death of Governor Bullock, about this time, was followed by the election to the chief magistracy of Button Gwinnett, who had been an unsuccessful competitor with General McIntosh for the command of the troops. Gwinnett was a man of bad passions, unrestrained by any honourable principles, and he appears to have made use of his official authority in petty persecutions of McIntosh and his family, several of whom were joined with him in the military service. Colonel William McIntosh was led by Gwinnett's conduct indignantly to throw up his commission, but the general bore his injuries patiently until he ceased to be governor, when he communicated to him the opinion he entertained of his conduct, received a challenge, and in a duel wounded him mortally. He now applied, through his friend Colonel Laurens, for a place in the continental army, and with his staff was invited to join the commander-in-chief. He arrived at the camp soon after the battle of Brandywine, and was for a considerable time employed in watching the motions of General Howe in Philadelphia.

While the army was in winter quarters at Valley Forge, the attention of the government was frequently called to the exposed condition of the western frontier, upon which the British were constantly exciting the Indians to the most terrible atrocities: and though a single company could be spared with difficulty from the army for such a purpose, it was determined to send an expedition against

the tribes on the Ohio, and Washington selected General McIntosh to command it. In a letter to the president of Congress, dated the 12th day of May, 1778, he remarks: "I part with this gentleman with much reluctance, as I esteem him an officer of great worth and merit, and know his services here are and will be materially wanted. His firm disposition and equal justice, his assiduity and good understanding, added to his being a stranger to all parties in that quarter, pointed him out as a proper person; and I trust extensive advantages will be derived from his command, which I wish were more agreeable." General McIntosh marched with a reinforcement of five hundred men to Fort Pitt, of which he assumed the command, and in a short time he succeeded in giving repose to all western Pennsylvania and Virginia. In the spring of 1779, he completed arrangements for an expedition against Detroit, but in April he was recalled by Washington, to take a part in operations proposed for the south, where his knowledge of the country, added to his other good qualities, promised to make him eminently useful.

General McIntosh joined General Lincoln in Charleston, and every preparation in their power was speedily made for the invasion of Georgia, then in possession of the British, as soon as the French fleet under the Count d'Estaing should arrive on the coast. General McIntosh marched to Augusta, took command of the advance of the American troops, and proceeding down to Savannah, where he arrived about the 10th of September, drove in all the British outposts. In expectation of being joined by the French, he marched to Beauley, where D'Estaing effected a landing on the 12th, 13th, and 14th, and on the 15th they were joined by General Lincoln. Unfortunately, General Prevost, the British commander, had been apprised, since the 3d of the month, of the approach of the French fleet, and from that time had been actively preparing for defence; but his works were still incomplete,

and reinforcements which he expected under Colonel Maitland, comprising the flower of the British army in the south, had not arrived. Under these circumstances, which were known in the American camp, General McIntosh pressed for an immediate attack, which the French admiral, with that appearance of perversity which had distinguished his conduct at Newport, refused, thinking he would at any time have an easy victory. He, however, summoned General Prevost to surrender, and that officer demanded time for consideration of the proposition, which was granted. Meantime the British engineers, under Colonel Moncrief, worked day and night upon their fortifications, and on the 17th Colonel Maitland came to their relief, with nearly a thousand veterans. At length, on the 9th of October, when success was no longer possible, D'Estaing decided upon an attack, and of the four thousand French and Americans who went into action on that occasion, one thousand were left upon the field, swept down like grass by the well-covered artillery of the enemy. The French fleet put to sea, and Generals Lincoln and McIntosh retreated to Charleston, where they were besieged by an overwhelming force under General Clinton, to whom the city was surrendered on the 12th of May, 1780.

Here closes General McIntosh's military life. He was long detained as a prisoner of war, and never again held any command. When he was released, he retired with his family into Virginia, where he remained until the British were driven from Savannah. Upon his return to Georgia, he found his personal property wasted and his real estate much diminished in value; and he lived in retirement and comparative poverty until his death, which took place at Savannah in 1806, when he was in the seventy-ninth year of his age.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL WILLIAM THOMPSON.

On the 14th of June, 1775, the day before the appointment of the commander-in-chief, Congress ordered that six companies of riflemen should be raised in Pennsylvania, and on the 22d of the same month it was ordered that two more companies should be raised, and that the eight together should make a battalion, to be commanded by such officers as should be recommended by the colonial assembly. These companies were filled up with remarkable celerity. William Thompson, who had served as a captain of horse in 1759–60, was made colonel; and before the 14th of August they had marched to the camp at Cambridge. These were the first troops raised in pursuance of orders from the Continental Congress. When a party of the British attempted a landing on Lechmere Point, on the 10th of November, they were driven back by Thompson's regiment, who gallantly waded through the water of an intervening marsh and compelled them to embark to the cover of their ships and batteries. On the 1st of March, 1776, he was appointed a brigadier-general, and on the 19th he succeeded General Lee as commander of the troops in New York, where he remained until the following month, when he was detached with four regiments—increased by reinforcements sent afterwards to ten—to Canada. He joined the northern army in a period of disasters, and, during the sickness of General Thomas, was in the chief command. General Thomas died on the 2d of June; General Sullivan arrived at Sorel on the 4th, and on the 6th he sent General Thompson with three regiments to attack the enemy at Trois Rivières,

359

where, by a series of unfortunate accidents, his party was defeated, and he himself and several other officers were taken prisoners. Various unsuccessful attempts were made for an exchange, but he continued a prisoner of war for more than two years.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN NIXON.

JOHN NIXON was a native of Framingham, Massachusetts, where he was born on the 4th of March, 1725. When the expedition against Cape Breton, planned by Colonel William Vaughan, was undertaken by Governor Shirley, in 1745, Nixon joined the troops under Sir William Pepperell, and was at the capture of Louisbourg. After serving in the army and navy seven years, he returned to his native place, but soon again entered the army as a captain, and fought at Ticonderoga when Abercrombie was defeated, and in the battle of Lake George. Afterward, falling into an ambuscade, he cut his way through the enemy and escaped, but with the loss of nearly all his party. In the Revolution, he was at the head of a company of minute men at Lexington; and at Bunker Hill, where he commanded a regiment, he received a severe wound, from which he never entirely recovered. He was made a brigadier-general in August, 1776. Washington intrusted him with the command on Governor's Island, near New York. He was with Gates in 1777. In the battle of Stillwater a cannon-ball passed so near his head as to impair permanently the sight of one eye, and his hearing in one ear. In bad health, he resigned his commission in 1780. In 1803 he removed to Middlebury, Vermont, where he resided with his children until he died, on the 24th of March, 1815, at the age of ninety.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL MORDECAI GIST.

Mordecai Gist was born in 1743. He was the son of Captain Thomas Gist and Susan Cockey, both of whose families were among the earliest English settlers in Maryland. He was trained for commercial life, and when the Revolution broke out he was engaged in mercantile pursuits. He proved himself a worthy son of that epoch of immortal men, and hastened to render his best services to his country.

In January of 1775 we find the first record of his military career. He was then elected to command a company of volunteers raised at Baltimore, from among the young men of the most respectable families. This was the first military body furnished by Maryland to the revolutionary army, and Gist seemed fitted to be the pioneer of his native state. His tall and graceful figure, symmetrical proportions, great strength, and expressive features lighted by an eye of singular brightness, indicated one of those chivalric characters who are created to lead others, and adorn the country of their birth.

At the battle of Long Island our hero had an opportunity of displaying the courage and sagacity, which were native to his character. At the commencement of 1776 he had been made major of a battalion of Maryland regulars, and in the absence of the colonel and lieutenant-colonel, he commanded his regiment. During the campaign of the succeeding year, he distinguished himself greatly for fidelity and steadiness. The hour of duty always found him at his post. This year he was made colonel, and together with Smallwood, whose name is on more than one occasion honourably connected with his own, com-

manded the militia furnished by Maryland in compliance with the requisition of Congress. In January, 1779, Congress recognised his worth, by conferring on him the rank of brigadier-general; next year he was attached to the army of the South, and bore his full share in the various fortunes which attended it.

General Gist's name is best known in connection with the bloody and unfortunate battle of Camden. Here Gates and Cornwallis, each moving with the design of surprising the other, met at two o'clock on the morning of the 15th of August, 1780. The darkness of that early hour did not prevent a conflict, but prudence on both sides hindered its becoming general, and the armies suspended their fire until dawn. When that time arrived, the locality was found to favour the British forces. A morass on each flank made their smaller number fully equal to their antagonists. General Gates divided his advance into three columns; the right resting on the morass was led by Gist; the left and centre commanded by Caswell and Stevens was routed, as in obedience to a blundering order of Gates, each was moving to take the other's position. But Gist, true to his reputation, kept his post. Amid the disgraceful flight of others he maintained the honour of Maryland and of the republic. The bold and deadly pressure with which Lord Rawdon sought to drive him back, seemed vain as the rush of a storm on the stern sides of a mountain. His fire in reply was terrible, and charging again and again with the brave De Kalb he made the victory a dear one to the enemy. And when at last the noble German fell, pierced with bullets, and the rout became general, Gist still preserved his calmness of mind. He rallied a hundred men, including the remnant of Armand's dragoons, and brought them off in order. For his valour and good conduct in this battle, in conjunction with Smallwood, the other Maryland leader, he received the thanks of Congress, and

when three days after the fight De Kalb felt himself near death, he requested his aid-de-camp to communicate to the two generals and the army his high sense of their merits.

In 1782 he joined the light troops of the southern army, and commanded in the affair at Combahee, the last engagement of the war, in which he obtained a victory, with the loss of the gallant and much-lamented Laurens. On the declaration of peace he retired to his plantation near Charleston, where he remained till his death, which took place in 1792, at the age of forty-nine.

General Gist was married three times, and was the father of two sons, the first of whom he named "United," and the second "States," in this eccentric manner evincing a patriotism of which he had already given sterner and more memorable manifestations.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL DAVID WOOSTER.

The early death of Wooster has prevented his name from being so generally familiar as the names of others who survived the contest to tell how fields were won, and to show the honourable scars of patriotic warfare.

He was born in Stratford, Connecticut, on the 2d of March, 1710. Early in life he visited England, where his fine talents, elegant address, and handsome person attracted the attention of the court. His portrait was engraved, his society courted, a captain's commission with half-pay for life was presented him, all showing the desire of the British government to conciliate the favour of those likely to be influential in the colonies.

Like most of the leaders in the Revolution, Wooster served honourably through the old French war, and such was the respect in which his abilities were held, that upon the breaking out of hostilities between ourselves and Eng-

land, he was one of the eight brigadier-generals appointed by the first Congress. After the fall of Montgomery before Quebec, the command of the Canadian forces devolved principally upon General Wooster, and the duties, arduous and disheartening, of securing the retreat of a baffled and sickly army were performed to the satisfaction of Congress, though under such circumstances not likely to cover a leader with much glory.

During the winter of 1776–7 he was employed in raising recruits and protecting provisions for the army, which had been collected at Danbury, Connecticut. On the 26th of April, 1777, a body of British troops attacked the town of Danbury, and destroyed the magazines. The news spread in all directions, the country was filled with alarm, Generals Wooster and Arnold summoned the militia, and with only six hundred men pursued the retreating foe, which consisted of two thousand well disciplined and effective men. Regardless of the disproportion of numbers the attack was vigorously opened, but the raw militia, thus hastily summoned and badly accoutred, gave way before the artillery of the enemy. Wooster led up his men to a second attack, when a musket ball wounded him in the thigh, and he was borne from the field. The wound was mortal, and thus early in our great contest were we deprived of the services of a most efficient and devoted champion. He was interred in the village in whose defence he had lost his life, May 2, 1777. Congress on the reception of the melancholy intelligence formed suitable resolves and appropriated five hundred dollars for the erection of a monument, requesting the executive of the state to carry their resolutions into effect. To the shame of Connecticut this has been neglected, and one of their greatest worthies lies unhonoured.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOSEPH SPENCER.

Joseph Spencer was one of the eight brigadier-generals appointed by Congress, at the instance of General Washington, on the 22d of June, 1775. He was born at East Haddam, Connecticut, in 1714. He was an officer of the militia, and rose to the rank of colonel in the French war of 1758. An older officer in the provincial service than Putnam, and yielding to no one in devotion to the popular cause, he was offended when the latter was placed over him, by his appointment as a major-general, and retired from the army. The commissions for the general officers were forwarded to Washington, who had delivered Putnam's before he was apprized of the feeling the new appointments occasioned, and in his letter to Congress, of the 10th July, 1775, he says, "I am very sorry to observe, that the appointment of general officers, in the provinces of Massachusetts and Connecticut, has not corresponded with the wishes or judgment of either the civil or military." The dissatisfaction was general, and Washington withheld the commissions until the difficulties about rank were adjusted by Pomroy's declining to accept in Massachusetts, and Spencer's consenting to serve under Putnam, rather than quit the service at such a critical period. He remained with the army near Boston, until the enemy evacuated the city, and marched with the division, ordered soon after to the defence of New York. On the 9th of August, 1776, he was appointed a major-general. He opposed the evacuation of New York in September, when the forces of the enemy were concentrating to the attack, but the event justified the course adopted by the commander in chief.

A fleet having appeared off New London in December,

with an evident design of making a descent upon some part of New England, Governor Trumbull applied to Washington for general officers to command the militia, who were assembling and determined to make the best opposition in their power. Generals Spencer and Arnold were ordered upon this duty. Spencer was instructed to detain the militia, if necessary, who were on the march towards New York; but when it was found that Sir Peter Parker was proceeding to Rhode Island, Washington ordered him to hasten forward the eastern troops as fast as possible to his assistance, as the only means of saving Philadelphia, and preventing a fatal blow to America, in the loss of a city whence so many of our resources were drawn. General Spencer was at the same time directed to take command at Rhode Island, which was now invested by the naval force under Admiral Parker. The enemy had taken possession of Newport, and a large force was assembled at Providence under General Spencer, with a view to dispossess them; but the enterprise failed, and after parading for some weeks in the neighbourhood, without striking a blow, the militia were dismissed to their homes. General Spencer was much censured for the failure of the expedition, but a court of inquiry saw nothing in his conduct to be condemned, and attributed the result to causes which were beyond his control. The New England colonies were at the time so exhausted by previous efforts, that they could not provide means of a successful assault upon the garrison.

At the close of the year 1777, General Spencer resigned his commission, and was afterwards but little in public life. He remained, however, an earnest friend to the cause, and rejoiced heartily in its final triumph. He died at his native place, East Haddam, in January, 1789, aged seventy-five. His nephew, Oliver Spencer, commanded a regiment in the battle of Princeton, and after the war, removed to Ohio, where he died in 1811.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL ENOCH POOR.

When Lafayette revisited the theatre of his youthful triumphs, the sight of the scarred veterans who greeted his progress brought to his remembrance many a gallant comrade who was now sleeping. Arriving at the capital of New Hampshire, the survivors of the Revolution flocked from all quarters to see him. Some who had fought by his side at Monmouth, Brandywine, and Yorktown, shed tears on being recognised by their old commander after a separation of fifty years. The occasion was one of joy to the illustrious foreigner, as well as to the thousands who thronged about him; and when the orators had spoken at the festive board, and the guest was called on by a gray-haired veteran for a sentiment, he rose, and in a few brief words, uttered with a look and tone of feeling which will never be forgotten by those who heard him, offered the following toast: "*Light Infantry*, Poor, *and Yorktown*, Scammell." A volume could not have better expressed his opinion of the gallant dead. General Poor he remembered as the leader of the noble corps of light infantry attached to his division in 1780, and the heroic Colonel Scammell he had seen mortally wounded at the siege of Yorktown.

Enoch Poor was a native of Andover, in Massachusetts, the son of Thomas Poor, and grandson of Daniel Poor, one of the first settlers of that town. After acquiring the education of the common schools in his native place, he removed to Exeter, then one of the most flourishing towns in New Hampshire, where he engaged in commercial pursuits, which occupied his attention until the opening of the war of Independence summoned him to the field. When they heard of the conflict at Lexington, the people

of New Hampshire rushed to arms. At the first meeting of the Provincial Assembly at Exeter, after the commencement of hostilities, that body voted to raise and equip two thousand men, to be formed into three regiments, to the command of which they appointed Colonels Poor, Stark, and Read. From this period until his death, in 1780, Poor was in constant service.

When the enemy had abandoned the heart of New England, Colonel Poor was ordered with his regiment to New York; and when the disastrous expedition against Canada was decided upon, he joined the invading forces under General Thompson. On the retreat from Canada, the Americans concentrated near Crown Point, and Colonel Poor was actively engaged in the defences of that post, until the council of officers was summoned by General Schuyler to advise respecting its evacuation. The generals advised the abandonment of Crown Point, and a retirement to Ticonderoga, which was ordered by Schuyler; but the inferior officers sent in a written remonstrance against this step, at the head of which were the names of Poor, Stark, and Maxwell. Their interference was looked upon as a breach of discipline, by Schuyler and Gates, and severe animadversions on both sides followed. The commander-in-chief, on being appealed to, declined reversing the decision of General Schuyler, but in his letters to both that officer and Gates, he concurred distinctly in the opinions of Poor and Stark as to the impolicy of the measure, and expressed regret that it had been decided upon, as he considered Crown Point the key of the lakes.

In the beginning of 1777, Colonel Poor was appointed a brigadier-general, and attached to the army under the immediate command of Washington. He was with him in all the movements in the neighbourhood of the Delaware, until the retirement into winter quarters at Valley Forge. He witnessed the sufferings and destitution of

the army during that dreary winter; and no officer exerted himself with greater earnestness to provide relief. He invoked in the most earnest terms the aid of the legislative body of New Hampshire: "I am every day beholding their sufferings," he said, "and every morning waked by the lamentable tale of their distresses. They look up to me for relief, and it is not in my power to afford them any. If they desert, how can I punish them, when they plead in justification that the contract on your part is broken?"*

In 1779, General Poor accompanied Sullivan upon his memorable expedition against the Indians of the Six Nations. He afterwards marched with his brigade under Lee to the Highlands. When that officer disgraced himself at Monmouth, Poor was directed to join the division under Lafayette, and under the blazing sun of that summer's noon mingled in the fiercest scenes of the battle. When the corps of light infantry was formed, in August, 1780, it was arranged into two brigades, one of which was commanded by General Poor, and the other by General Hand, and both were placed under Lafayette.

General Poor died at Hackensack, New Jersey, of a bilious fever, after thirteen days' illness, on the 8th of September, 1780. General Washington, in announcing the event to Congress, says, he was "an officer of distinguished merit, who as a citizen and a soldier had every claim to the esteem of his country." Congress ordered an extract from this letter to be published as a testimony of the high sense entertained by that body of the character and services of the deceased general.

* Letter from General Poor to President Weare, of New Hampshire, 21st January, 1778.

349

BRIGADIER-GENERAL JAMES MOORE.

In the beginning of 1776, Congress ordered General Lee to the command of the southern department, which embraced the states of Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia. Four brigadier-generals, created on 1st of March, were directed to join him, one of whom was James Moore, of North Carolina.

The patriotic citizens of this state were among the first to rally to the standard of liberty, and it is believed that upon her soil was shed the first Tory blood in the Revolution. There existed here bands of "Highlanders," and "Regulators;" and the latter undertook to set law at defiance and reform the condition of society; and when united with the former, in defence of the royal cause, they became a formidable body. General McDonald, one of the Highlanders, was appointed to the command, and erected the king's standard at Cross Creek, where his force amounted to fifteen hundred men. Upon intimation of this movement of the Tories, Colonel Moore, at the head of the first continental regiment raised in the province, and such portion of the militia of the district of Wilmington as he could collect, took the field with a few pieces of cannon, and halting near the bridge on Rocky river in the county of Cumberland, about twelve miles from Cross Creek, fortified a camp, and patiently sat down to wait their proceedings. In the mean while, Colonel Caswell and Colonel Lillington, who commanded the minute men of the districts of Newbern and Wilmington, joined by some parties of militia and a few volunteer corps, encamped on the bank of Moore's creek, near its junction with the South river, in the county of New Hanover.

General McDonald soon after marched towards Colonel Moore, but halted at some distance from his camp, and sent in an officer charged with a letter bewailing the difficulty of his situation, and the fatal necessity of shedding blood, imposed by duty to his sovereign, while humanity prompted a wish that the calamity might be prevented by the timely submission of the colonel and his party to the laws. He enclosed a copy of the governor's proclamation with his own manifesto, expressing a hope that Moore would coolly, impartially and deliberately weigh their contents, and pay them the regard they merited from every friend to the human species. In the king's name he offered to him and his officers and men a free pardon for past transgressions, if they would lay down their arms and take the oath of allegiance; and concluded, that, unless these terms were accepted, he must consider them as traitors, and take the necessary steps to subdue them.

Desirous of gaining time, Moore amused McDonald until he could no longer temporize, and then replied, that his followers and himself were engaged in a cause the most honourable in the world, the defence of the rights of man, and that they needed no pardon. In return for the governor's proclamation, he enclosed a copy of the test required by the Provincial Congress to be subscribed by every officer in the province; invited him to add his name, and offer it for the signature of his officers, and on their doing so, and laying down their arms, promised to receive them as brothers; but concluded, that in case of their refusal, they could only expect that treatment with which he had been pleased to threaten himself and his followers.

Accounts reached McDonald's camp at the same time of the movements of Colonels Caswell and Lillington, and of the arrival of Sir Henry Clinton in Cape Fear river with a reinforcement. He now thought it dangerous to risk an action, and dreading to find himself surrounded,

dreamed of nothing but making his way to Wilmington to join the newly arrived troops. He decamped therefore without noise, and attempted by rapid marches to elude the pursuit of Colonel Moore. He crossed South river, and proceeding towards Wilmington, fell in with Caswell and Lillington, who with about one thousand men were encamped on the south-east side of the creek, where they had thrown up works for the defence of their camp. The force of the province was much inferior to that under McDonald, but the latter had the disadvantage of crossing the creek, and as Caswell had caused the planks to be removed from the bridge, if an attack were made, a retreat would be but a precarious resource. It was, however, determined to risk an encounter, and McDonald being disabled by indisposition from leading it, Colonel McLeod, the next officer in rank, placed himself at the head of the troops. They began with much vigour, and were received by the provincials with great coolness and bravery; but the fall of Colonel McLeod and several other officers, early in the battle, damped their spirits, and Colonel Caswell having improved the first moment of apparent discomfiture to make an intrepid charge, the royalists were routed, and flying in every direction: several were made prisoners—General McDonald himself among the number.

The issue of this first engagement with the forces of government, was fortunate to the cause; it increased the confidence of its friends, and filled its enemies with alarm, while it determined the course of a great part of those who had hitherto refrained from choosing their side.

The Provincial Council of North Carolina, on the 4th of March, passed a vote of thanks to Colonel Moore for his signal services in suppressing the insurrection of the Highlanders and regulators, and ordered it to be published.

The military career of General Moore, thus honourably commenced, was suddenly closed. He fell a victim to

the fever of the climate, dying while on his way to join the army under Washington.

The family of General Moore was of the highest respectability. His grandfather, who was the first of the name in North Carolina, was appointed governor of the colony in 1705, and claimed descent from the Marquis of Drogheda, of Ireland. A nephew of General Moore became distinguished as attorney-general and chief justice of North Carolina, and afterwards as an associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN PATTERSON.

Berkshire county in Massachusetts is famous for the heroism displayed by her sons in the Revolution. On the morning of the battle of Bennington, it is said that one of her clergymen, who had led a portion of his flock to the field, remarked to General Stark, "We the people of Berkshire have been frequently called upon to fight, but have never been led against the enemy. We have now resolved, if you will not let us fight, never again to turn out." Stark asked him "if he wished to march then, when it was dark and rainy?" He answered, "No." "Then," continued Stark, "if the Lord once more gives us sunshine, and I don't give you fighting enough, I will never ask you to come again." The weather cleared up in the course of the day, and the men of Berkshire followed their spiritual guide into action, where they doubtless did good service.

John Patterson, of Lenox, in this county, was a member of the first Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, which assembled at Salem in October, 1774, and of the second Congress, which met at Cambridge in February, 1775. He had already organized a regiment of minute

men, by voluntary enlistments, for eight months. The battle of Lexington was fought on the 19th of April, 1775; the news reached Berkshire on the 20th, about noon, and the next morning at sunrise, Patterson's regiment, consisting of ten companies, completely armed and generally in uniform, was on the way to Cambridge. Upon their arrival, they were employed in the erection of the first redoubt erected on the lines about Boston. They manned and defended it on the memorable 17th of June, against the British advancing upon the rear of the Americans.

After the evacuation of Boston, Colonel Patterson was ordered to Canada, and after he reached Montreal, some of his men were despatched to the Cedars, and engaged in the disastrous battle at that place. In retreating from Canada, the regiment spent a short time at Crown Point, then went to Ticonderoga, and crossed the bay and fortified Mount Independence, where they remained until November, when they were marched to Albany, and through the Minisink country, Nazareth, and Bethlehem, to the army under Washington, at Newtown in Pennsylvania, just soon enough to cross the Delaware with him and to take part in the battles of Trenton and Princeton.

On the 21st of February, 1777, Colonel Patterson was appointed a brigadier-general in the continental army, and was attached to the northern department. He was at the surrender of Burgoyne, and remained in service until the close of the war. During Shay's rebellion in Massachusetts, in 1786, General Patterson headed a detachment of the Berkshire militia ordered out for its suppression. The evening of his life was passed in tranquillity upon his farm.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL JAMES REED.

If we look into the history of New Hampshire, we shall find that the people of that state had very little cause, aside from their love of liberty and a natural sympathy with the other colonies, for engaging in the Revolution. The rule of Wentworth, the last of the royal governors in that province, had been popular, and foreseeing the storm, he had endeavoured as much as possible to conciliate the people, hoping thus to secure the public tranquillity and effect a reconciliation with the mother country. There were here few personal injuries and no great family interests mixed up with the contest.

James Reed, of Fitzwilliam, was an officer of the militia, and when news of the events of Lexington reached his remote residence, he volunteered with his neighbours to engage in the conflict. Four weeks afterwards, when the Provincial Congress voted to raise three regiments, the command of the second was given to Colonel Reed. He was present in the battle on the heights of Charlestown, on the 17th June, being posted with Stark on the left wing, behind a fence, from which they poured a destructive fire upon the advancing ranks of the British. After the evacuation of Boston by the enemy, the New Hampshire regiments went with Washington to New York, whence they were ordered up the Hudson, and into Canada, under the immediate command of General Sullivan. The object of this movement was to reinforce the army which had been sent the preceding year against Quebec, and which was now retreating. Sullivan met them at the mouth of the Sorel. Arnold, true to his mercenary character, was engaged in plundering the Canadian merchants, under a pretence of supplying the

army: Thompson was a prisoner, and Thomas had died of the small-pox. The command, therefore, devolved upon Sullivan, who conducted the retreat with great prudence. At this time, many of the American soldiers had taken the infection of the small-pox, which raged with virulence among those from New Hampshire. Besides this disease, the dysentery and putrid fever prevailed to a considerable extent, and it was computed that nearly one-third of Colonel Reed's regiment died in the campaign. The sick were placed in batteaux, and with the cannon and stores drawn against the rapid current of the river, by men on shore or wading in the water; and so close was the pursuit, that they could scarcely find time to kindle a fire, dress their food, or dry their clothes. At St. John's, the enemy halted, and the remnant of the American force arrived on the 1st of July at Ticonderoga, whence, General Gates being in command, Sullivan returned to the main army at New York.

Before arriving at Ticonderoga, Colonel Reed was attacked with the small-pox, from which he suffered greatly, and from the effects of which he never recovered. On the 9th of August he was appointed a brigadier-general upon the recommendation of General Washington. He had become so disabled, however, by disease, that he could render very little service, but he retained his appointment with the hope of being able again to take the field. His desires, however, were disappointed: he quitted his bed nearly blind and deaf, and otherwise unfitted for active service. After a short time he retired from the army to his former residence in Fitzwilliam, where he lived many years, respected for his integrity and devotion to the best interests of his country.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL SETH POMROY.

Seth Pomroy was from Northampton, Massachusetts. He entered the military service at an early age, and acted a conspicuous part in the bloody battle of Lake George, in 1755. After the defeat of the French army on that occasion, the Baron Dieskau, its general, wounded in the leg, was found leaning on the stump of a tree, entirely alone, on the field where but a few hours before he had commanded an army flushed with success. While feeling in a pocket for his watch, to present to the soldier who had surprised him, the latter, supposing him to be searching for a pistol, discharged his musket at him, inflicting a wound which finally proved mortal, though he lived to reach England. This soldier is believed to have been Seth Pomroy.

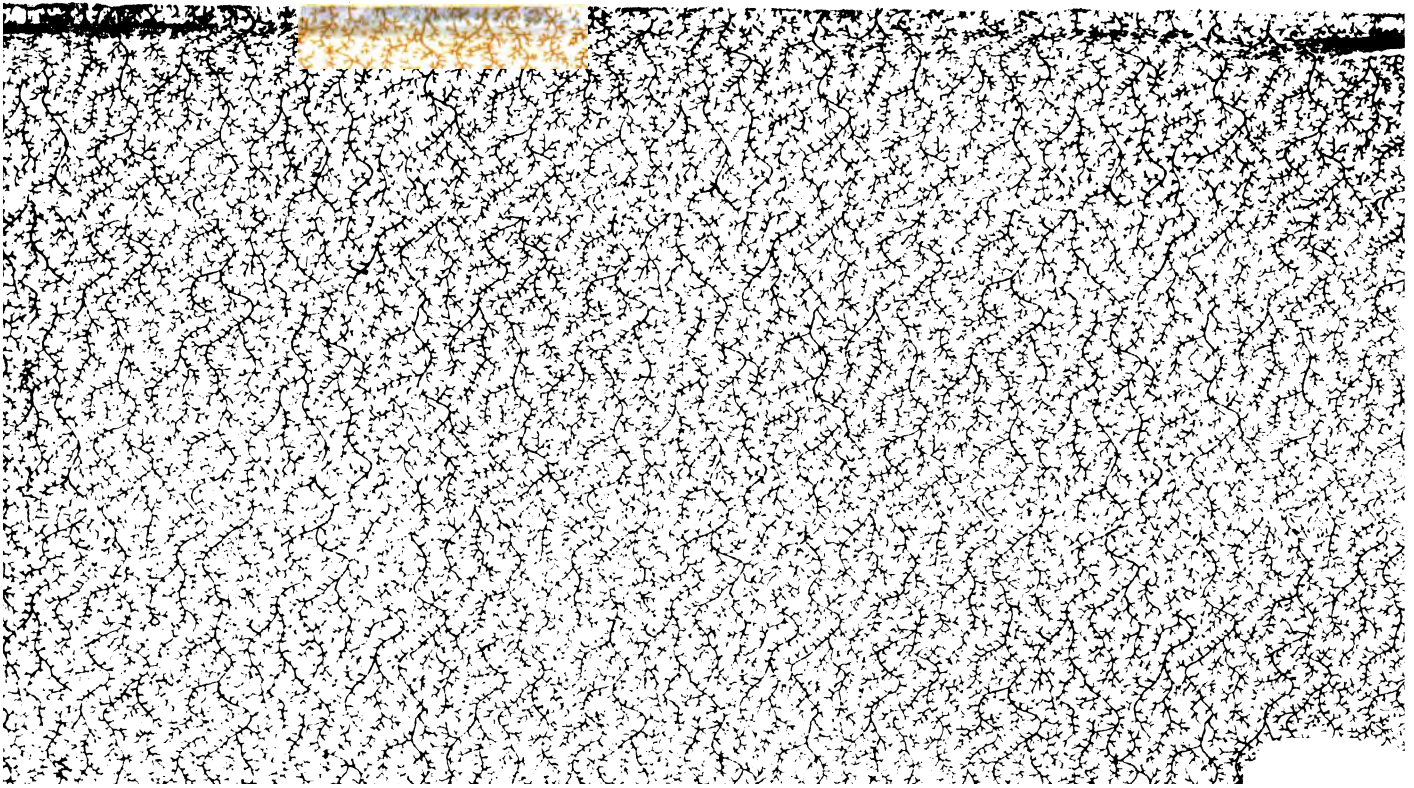
The morning of the 17th of June, 1775, found Pomroy a volunteer in the camp of General Ward, at Cambridge. He held no commission in the line, but, hearing the artillery, could not resist the summons to the field. He requested General Ward to lend him a horse, and taking a musket, set off at full speed for Charlestown. Reaching the Neck, and finding it enfiladed by a heavy fire of round, bar, and chain-shot, from the Glasgow ship of war, he began to be alarmed, not, as might be supposed, for his own safety, but for that of General Ward's horse. Too honest to expose the borrowed steed to "the pelting of this pitiless storm," and too bold to dream for a moment of shrinking from it himself, the conqueror of Dieskau dismounted, delivered the horse to a sentry, shouldered his gun, and marched on foot across the Neck. On reaching the hill, he took a station at the rail-fence, in the

hottest of the battle. His person was known to the soldiers, and his name rang with shouts along the line.

A few days after the battle of Bunker Hill eight brigadier-generals were appointed by Congress, the first of whom was Colonel Pomroy. He had held a commission under Sir William Johnson, and commanded a regiment of the provincial militia; but his appointment as senior brigadier causing some difficulty in the adjustment of questions of rank, he declined it, and soon after retired to his farm. In the following year, however, when New Jersey was overrun by the enemy, he headed the militia of his neighbourhood, who marched to the Hudson river, and never returned from that expedition. He died at Peekskill, in New York, in 1777.

END OF VOL. I.

358



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